













Calcutta The Review

1851

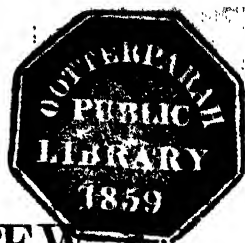
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THE

## CALCUTTA REVIEW.

ART. I.—*Narrative of the Second Sikh War in 1848-9. By Edward Joseph Thackwell, Esq., late Aide-de-Camp to General Thackwell. London. Bentley. 1851.*

THE narrative of a war can seldom be correctly and faithfully laid before the public, immediately on the conclusion of military operations. The main facts of the struggle, its oscillations from partial success to partial failure, from victory to defeat, are indeed, in the present day, through the energy of the Press, very early before the public. With the assistance of such information, and the aid of an occasional bulletin from one or both of the belligerent parties, men draw their own conclusions (sometimes nearly right, oftener very wrong) during the progress of the contest, until at last the final issue puts a stop to many crude and a few reasonable lucubrations. At this stage, were truth generally safe and acceptable, many a man, whose sword had been drawn in the quarrel, would, on sheathing it, take up his pen, and give an account of the campaign in which he had been engaged. But wise men know the cost too well, and abstain; the field is left open to be occupied by men of a different calibre, who, neither aware of its difficulties or dangers, and protected by their very insignificance, plunge into their subject with the confidence of shallow minds. For one Eyre, who dares to come forward with a manly, sensible, truthful narrative at the close of a great event, there will always be on such occasions a score of Thackwells, aiming to accomplish that for which they are manifestly unequal.

We always take up the narrative of a campaign written by a British officer, with a two-fold purpose in its perusal, with a double interest in the work. The events of the war, as historical facts, are of course to be learnt therein—and that is one object: but it is one, which we should equally entertain, if reading any narrative of military operations written by a foreigner. War, however, is a great and a complicated science; and the attainments of our officers, in mastering its details and comprehending its higher principles, are matter of national importance. We are no advocates for war, and least of all for wars of mere aggrandizement: but, in spite of Cobden, Bright, and the Peace

Society, in spite of the dreams of well-meaning honest enthusiasts, or the hazy aspirations of self-deifying sceptical demagogues, we cannot perceive that our Old World is inclined as yet to belie its character. It seems very consistent in its ways; has not even arrived at a transition-state with respect to its pugnacious propensities; and seems obstinately bent on proving that, neither for an Autocrat of all the Russias on the one hand, nor for a Cobden on the other (though each in his line doubtless a respectable practitioner), is it reserved to put sound hearts into the millions, principle and wisdom into rulers, or to make peace and good will paramount on earth. Take it as you please—like the fact, or dislike the fact—hate or honour the red coat—it does not much matter: for there stands the dread inevitable before you—war, frequent war; not to be denied, but (be it for weal or woe) necessarily to be encountered. It is therefore a matter of superlative interest to a State, and particularly to such a state as England, to gauge the qualifications of her officers; to scrutinize the indications in their writings of a knowledge of their peculiar science; and, from their works, to estimate their comprehensiveness of view, and general ability. We read therefore a work written by a British officer with these important questions always present to the mind:—How rank our officers in the scale of professional depth of intelligence—of sound clear apprehension of the higher principles of the art? What is the promise of genius and ability for the vague future, when the Sword may be again in conflict with half-disciplined millions, or engaged in the more formidable contest between nations representing, on the one side free, and on the other autocratic, institutions? In that impending struggle, however much against our will, we may, before long, be forced to take a part.

With these questionings in view, what would be the impression, left upon the mind of a military reader by Mr. Thackwell's work? We do not hesitate to say that they would be most unfavourable. The reader, if wholly dependent for his knowledge of the war on the work before us, would rise from its perusal with the conviction that the author was ignorant of the very elements of his profession; that he so stated facts as to make it appear that the commanders in the army were, alike with himself, grossly and inexcusably deficient, not only in the higher, but also in the elementary, principles of the art of war; that the military mind of our leaders was so effete, so wanting in conscious ability and ordinary self-reliance, that, whether a simple shift of camp or an action were in contemplation, a council of war was equally indispensable; that, if there is a low range of qualifications and ability among the commanders, there is a low tone of military

feeling prevalent among the subordinate officers of the army, to whom the comforts of cantonment life are more agreeable than the endurances of camp and conflict; in short, that not only is the average of ability and soldierly qualities extremely mediocre amongst the regiments, but still more lamentably deficient among the staff, the commanders.

These would be very unsatisfactory and very painful conclusions to arrive at, from the perusal of a work by a British officer, who evidently had no intention of leading his readers to form such conclusions. We acquit him of any such design; his range of intellect is limited; filial reverence and partiality are excusable; and, though Saidúlápúr, is brought up *ad nauseam*, we can pardon it on the score of a son's natural tendency to do all he can for his father's fame. Mr. Thackwell belongs also, or lately did belong, to Her Majesty's army; and no man, who has the honour of bearing one of Her Majesty's commissions, would willingly tarnish the general character for ability and efficiency (let alone the honour) of her service. Willingly, therefore, we acquit Mr. Thackwell of purposing to bring his reader to such conclusions as those, the mere outline of which has been sketched; but, that they inevitably follow from the premises he has put forth to the public, no reasonable man can deny.

We think we can modify the asperity of such painful conclusions, by dealing with the main features of the war somewhat differently from our author: and, as we rely on the accuracy of our information, we shall both praise and blame with the freedom of truth, confident that time will prove our main positions and statements correct, and that our views and opinions, consonant with those of men of the greatest military skill and experience, will be found faithful and just.

In the chapter, designated "Origin of the second Sikh War," the reader will in vain search for the real causes of that general rising of the Sikh nation in arms against us. They did so with one mind and one heart; and the murder of the two officers, sent to Múltán, was merely the premature exhibition of the feelings, which pervaded the masses of the ill-subdued followers of Govind. Múlráj knew it well; felt himself injured and insulted; and either could not, or would not controul the minds of his soldiery;—but the great error lay at our own doors. Abbott, who had early given intimation that the spirit of revolt was on the wing and machinations were a-foot, was treated as a timid alarmist. Vigilance was fast asleep, where it should have been widest awake; and no greater proof of this fact, and of the real state of feeling in the Punjab, could have been evinced than by sending Vans Agnew and Anderson down to Múltán on such

a mission as theirs, at such a time, and in such a manner. It was virtually courting an outbreak—but courting it at the wrong season, and when we were wholly unprepared for it, and not at all desiring it.

There seems in the undisturbed course of a civilian to high place and power, something which wholly unfits him for the exercise of the latter in positions of difficulty. His rise is too smooth and sedentary; so very regulation pace and fashion; he has so little knowledge or experience of the working passions of the masses; is so entirely ignorant of the fiery temper of armed, half-subdued, haughty enemies; is so easily bamboozled by a few interested smooth tongues and faces; brings himself with so much difficulty to conceive that the ordinary placid routine of *kacheri*, or board, or court, or secretariat, is something entirely different from sounding, mastering, controlling, and guiding turbulent levies, and masses infected with the ardour of military progress and conquest; he is so incapable of justly appreciating what military force can, or cannot do—when it should be employed, and how, and under whom—that nothing but the predominant influence of the class-interest in the Government of India would perpetuate an error, which never fails to produce bitter and costly fruit. Any one, but a civilian, would have foreseen that to send Vans Agnew and Anderson down to Múltán at the time, and in the manner selected, was almost sure to produce an ebullition of feeling, and of violence. It was very like rolling a live shell, with a lit fusee into a well-stored magazine, the chances in both cases being very decidedly in favour of an explosion. We despair of seeing it otherwise, when the training of the class is considered, whenever civilians are, in times of difficulty, in the position in which Sir F. Currie was placed; and therefore we do not blame him, so much as those who should have known better, but who having purposes to serve by the presence in England, for a short time, of Sir H. Lawrence, took him away—willing to go because in weak health—exactly at the most critical period for the Punjáb.

When Sir Henry Hardinge, anxious to shew in how quiet and satisfactory a condition he quitted everything in India, largely reduced the army in order to cook a balance-sheet and found thereon a self-gratulatory farewell finance minute, it was clearly foretold by those, who had been long intimately conversant with the course of events on the N. W. Frontier, that he was preparing trouble for his successor, and that the parting economy of Lord Hardinge would entail, in the course of a short time, enormous outlay on the part of Lord Dalhousie. Those

persons, who said this, would probably confess, however, that they did not anticipate such an immediate fulfilment of their prognostications: and we doubt whether Lord Hardinge's Punjáb policy, had he not taken Sir Henry Lawrence home with him, would so rapidly and thoroughly have gone to pieces. It must have failed, because it was unsound, hastily patched up to cover our own exhaustion, and thoroughly well fathomed by the Sikh leaders and people; but the evil day would, in all probability, have been staved off by Sir Henry Lawrence, and Lord Hardinge would have been saved the mortification of seeing his Punjáb policy crumble into the dust before he had drawn the first instalment of his pensions. Hardinge took out his linch-pin, where the coach had a steep descent before it: and the result was a hopeless break-down.

These were some of our errors, but there were others of internal administration of a different and deeper character, of which, for the present, we shall merely indicate the existence. Towards the close of 1848, many a village seemed to possess no other inhabitants than old decrepid men, women, and young children. Our two years' sway had not proved popular: and the able bodied flocked to the rebel standards of the chiefs, even from districts under our immediate supervision and controul, without the slightest check or hindrance.

We have said that Lord Hardinge, with the short-sighted vision of an ordinary mind bent on its own self-gratulation, sowed the soil with difficulties, which his successor was to reap. Tares proverbially shoot up apace; and, under the genial warmth of an Indian sun, rather faster perhaps than elsewhere; so, whilst Hardinge's partisans were giving out in England that matters had been left in India in such an admirable state of quiescent security, that there would not be another shot fired for the next ten years, Sir F. Currie, though wedded to the Hardinge Punjáb policy, was forced to feel uncomfortably doubtful of the fact, and Lord Dalhousie gradually opened his eyes to the real state of affairs in the "Land of the Five Rivers," and began to entertain the unwelcome suspicion and forecast of the work his predecessor had left for him to execute.

Events followed fast after the murder of Vans Agnew and Anderson at Múltán: but, though we may admire the vigour and the activity of Edwardes, and the courage and skill with which he brought his undisciplined troops into operation, we cannot award, either to Sir F. Currie, his superior, or to himself, the meed of a clear apprehension of the state of affairs, or of sound military judgment as to the measures suited to the circumstances, under which we then were placed in the Punjáb.



For Edwardes there is the excuse, that a clever man will dare much in order to acquire a reputation; but Sir F. Currie, instead of being stimulated by his energetic subordinate, should have controuled him. It was an unpardonable error, known as Múltán was, to endeavour to besiege it with the insufficient means, with which this operation was first undertaken. Sir F. Currie must, or ought to, have been well aware, both of the strength of ordnance which Sir Charles Napier, when in Scinde, had always kept in readiness for Múltán at Bukkur, and also of the strength of the force, which that General deemed essential for operations against the place. Sir C. Napier had never shown any disposition to be over-nice in counting heads on a battle-field; a few men went very far with him; and therefore it not only smacked of great presumption, but really was such, when, regardless of his opinions and example, Sir F. Currie undertook the siege with far inferior means. Prudence dictated a more cautious course.

We know that it was the fashion to make light of the place—this, too, not alone in India, but in England also; and at the India House, where they ought to have been well informed, the Chairman was known to have said “that the Court of Directors ‘ had a plan of it; that it was nothing of a place—only about ‘ 500 yards in length by 300 yards in breadth; and that it could ‘ be easily shelled into a surrender;” in fact they had been informed, on (what they considered) good authority, that it was a contemptible place; and the expectation was, that the next news would probably be that it had fallen. At the Board of Controul much the same impressions of course existed: and, when the President was frankly told that the place might not prove so contemptible, and that a check at Múltán might kindle the flame of revolt from the foot of the Himalayah to Scinde, or even to the sea, the idea was evidently as distasteful, as it was new.

We cannot but blame Lord Dalhousie for his dilatoriness in arriving at the conviction that war, and war on a great scale, was unavoidable. A Governor-General, not very long arrived in Calcutta, new to the country, and ignorant of the men of the services holding at the time the posts of highest importance, cannot, however, for a while, do otherwise, than see through the spectacles of those, who are at the foci of political interest. If, as in the present instance, the Governor-General be not only labouring under the disadvantage of being new to his office, but also under that of thorough inexperience and ignorance of war questions, there are still broader grounds for excusing a somewhat tardy apprehension of the real condition of affairs, and an otherwise culpable neglect of all those timely preparations, which

war necessities. We cannot judge harshly of a nobleman thus circumstanced—all whose previous training, whether as a lawyer or as a politician, had been foreign to military affairs of moment and magnitude. The hope of staving off war and its charges, and of maintaining peace and its economy, was a laudable sentiment: and, therefore, though, when taking a retrospective glance at our own conduct of affairs, we cannot but note, as a very grievous error, the utter want of due preparation for military operations in November 1848—we do so, respecting the motives, and appreciating the individual circumstances, under which that error was perpetrated. Once convinced, however tardily, that war was unavoidable, the Governor-General did all in his power to correct his own grave error. In selecting, for the head of that most important department—the Commissariat—Captain Ramsay, “an officer related by family ties to the Marquis of ‘Dalhousie,’” as Mr. Thackwell takes care to inform us, he selected the most active and the most intelligent officer available for such a crisis, and the man that any other Governor-General would at that time in all probability have chosen. Captain Ramsay proved the propriety of the selection, by at once pointing out that the absence of all preparation could only be remedied by the most prompt and the most energetic exertions on the part of his department, unhampered by the usual routine of the Military Board; and that he must have authority to act as the emergency required, if the army was to be fed, and the campaign to succeed. In no other way, at the eleventh hour, could the Governor-General have rectified his own neglect; and perhaps few other men, except Captain James Ramsay, would have succeeded, even so empowered and supported, in enabling the army to move when it did. He had great opposition to contend with, particularly from Colonel Benson, who was wedded to the Military Board system and who could not perceive the utter inapplicability of that system to the urgent difficulties of the moment. Benson, a narrow-minded economist, would have perilled success rather than break a Board rule, and would have preferred having two distinct classes of commissariat agents and contractors to plunder the State, rather than one. Ramsay was of a different opinion. However much he might value Board rules, and theories of check and counter-check, he knew the futility of a system so complicated, that the accounts of a campaign are, under its operation, seldom wound up under from five to ten years. He preferred success to failure, though failure were accompanied with the intense satisfaction of having been in strict conformity to a Military Board rule; and he probably thought that one Jotí Persád, of ability and in-

fluence equal to the occasion, was better than half-a-dozen Joti Persads of less ability and influence, but to a certainty adepts at plundering the Government, both individually and collectively. He preferred too, a system under which accounts could be balanced and cleared in the course of a year, instead of requiring ten. Any one conversant with Indian campaigns will side with Captain James Ramsay's views; and any one cognizant of the condition in which the army took the field on this occasion, will not doubt that Benson would have ruined the campaign. Lord Dalhousie is more indebted to his cousin for the ultimate success of the war, than perhaps to any other single individual, political or military, be their rank or position what it may. Impartial in blame, and plain too as we are in censure, it is gratifying to have to note a mind of vigour, rising to the emergency of a critical juncture, and bringing to a successful issue the great problem of suddenly provisioning a large army, for the existence of which no sort of preparation had been made, and which had subsequently to be fed and maintained, man and beast, under circumstances of very peculiar difficulty. This officer, Captain James Ramsay, single-handed, retrieved one of the greatest and most fundamental errors, that could have been committed at the commencement of the war.

Not to fatigue the reader, we shall not revert in detail to the first unsuccessful operations against Múltán; and we will concede it to be doubtful, whether an officer of even greater ability than General Whish would not have refrained, circumstanced as Whish was, from pursuing and attacking Shere Sing. Whish had been thrust into a false position; and, perhaps, after the example of defection which he had experienced, his wisest course was to remain in observation at Múltán, until re-inforced, and until some general plan of operations, on a scale corresponding with the emergency, was arranged. Shere Sing had first out-witted him; then, baffling his vigilance, had out-mancœuvred him and gained a start, which the long legs and light camp equipage of his Sikhs were not likely to lose, when followed by our more embarrassed columns. Shere Sing would have taken care not to fight, unless he pleased; and Whish would have gained nothing by moving, unless he completely crushed Shere Sing. This was a feat he was not equal to: and any check, or combat with indecisive results, was at that period very much to be deprecated. Shere Sing's object was clearly to place himself in communication with Chutter Sing, and to throw his army into a position, where he could assemble the Sikh levies, feed them, and have a strong country in which to operate.

When Lord Gough crossed the Sutlej in November 1848, he

found his enemy, Shere Sing, well placed. The Sikh masses were on the right bank of the Chenáb, at Ramnuggur, drawing their supplies from the productive districts on the upper part of the Chenáb. In this position, Shere Sing could intercept Gúlab Sing's movements, if favourable to the British, or a junction was secured, if Gúlab Sing was amicably disposed to the cause of revolt. Communications with Chutter Sing were covered, and reinforcements of men and guns could be looked for from Peshawur (as soon as Attock should have fallen) for the final struggle. The Chenáb—the strong ground on the left bank of the Jhelum—the Jhelum itself—the remarkably difficult country between the Jhelum and the Indus—the Indus itself—all presented a succession of formidable positions, on some one of which Shere Sing might hope to fight a successful action. To the southward, Múltán held out. Múlráj, now hopeless of mercy, was sure to make a stout defence, and for a time occupy a large portion of our troops and guns. Shere Sing's object therefore ought to have been (and it apparently was so) to bring the British general to action, before Múltán should have fallen;—but, to bring him to action in a position unfavourable to the higher discipline and equipments of his force, and favourable to the larger numbers of the Sikh levies and their eagerness for conflict.

Lord Gough's course and position was marked out by the manifest objects of the enemy. To remain in observation on the left bank of the Chenáb; to regard himself as covering the siege of Múltán, and holding Shere Sing in check until that place fell; to give time for the completion of commissariat arrangements; to cover Lahore, and cut off all supplies from the districts on the left bank of the Chenáb reaching the enemy; jealously to watch the movements of the latter, whether to the northward or southward;—these should have been Lord Gough's objects. So long as Shere Sing was disposed to have remained on the right bank of the Chenáb, Gough should have left him undisturbed, and patiently have awaited the fall of Múltán.

To see, to keep clearly in view, and never to swerve from, the objects of primary importance, and to subordinate to these the minor ones, is the stamp of military ability: to confound, to transpose, to invert things of major and minor moment, and to substitute the one for the other, are sure signs of military mediocrity. Tried by this standard, the operations at the passage of the Chenáb must be pronounced a normal strategical blunder. They were untimely, objectless, fruitless, and a departure without cause from the principles which should

have guided the general. As usual in military matters, where error is loss, the blunder cost him in the end very dear.

For the fall of Cureton and Havelock in the opening brush at Ramnuggur, and for the loss of a gun, Lord Gough is not to blame. Shere Sing was *à cheval* on the Chenáb, a position which could not be conceded to him; and it was incumbent on Gough to make him withdraw to the right bank of the river: for, so long as he held the left bank, he could continue to draw supplies of men and provision from the districts, of the aid of which Gough was bound to deprive the Sikh general. The mode of executing this might, perhaps, have been more judicious; but even on this point it is difficult to pronounce; for the ardour of Havelock completely disarranged everything, and Cureton, riding forward to bridle the fiery courage of the leader of the 14th, fell, struck mortally. Down went on that occasion the best cavalry officer we have seen in India; almost the only one, who in command showed the nice judgment needed by the cavalry leader. Cautious, but quick and resolute, yet never carried away by his own, or any one else's impetuosity, he knew the arm thoroughly, and wielded it like a master; knew when to charge, and when to draw bridle, and never made a mistake, as to what horsemen could or could not do. He was a great loss to the army; for a good cavalry commander is rarely to be met.

We will not attempt to analyze the unfortunate proceedings at Ramnuggur, further than to say that they betrayed great preliminary ignorance on our part of the ground, and equal want of quickness in the faculty of *reading* ground (if such an expression be pardonable)—of taking in its features at a glance. The British horse-artillery were permitted to dip into the low sandy channels of a bight of the river swept from the opposite bank by the enemy's heavy artillery. This was not exactly the proper position for light field batteries—whoever sent them there; particularly, as the enemy was steadily withdrawing to the right bank, as fast as they could, when they saw our intention of denying them the left bank. Ouvry's unopposed advance, in order to cover the retirement of our embarrassed gun, proves this. Again, when once it was found that the gun could not be moved, further exposure of the cavalry was useless, and Havelock's request to be allowed to charge should have been met with a peremptory refusal. If the gun were to be saved in such a position, it must be so by infantry; and Campbell, moving up his men and placing them under cover, of which the ground afforded plenty, might have prevented the gun being taken up by the enemy, and at night

might himself have saved and withdrawn the piece. Our light field batteries and cavalry might have been withdrawn, so as to be out of range and reach of the enemy's heavy guns, yet near enough to Campbell, to support him if the Sikhs tried to drive him from his cover; which, however, they would probably not have attempted, because, in so doing, they must have placed themselves where the re-advance of our light pieces would have caused frightful havoc amongst them, whilst their heavy guns on the right bank must have remained in great measure silent.

Passing over the throwing up of batteries at ludicrously safe distances from the enemy, and other minor vagaries which followed this unlucky affair, and taking no note of Mr. Thackwell's cogitations on his friends, White, Scott, and Campbell, who must feel, we should opine, almost as much obliged to him as Sir J. Thackwell for the mode in which they are obtruded on the reader; and, for the present, abstaining from remark on the crude lucubrations of our author upon the native cavalry, regular and irregular, we must observe upon one very curious and very characteristic circumstance.

For two years the Punjáb had been in our hands. The Sikhs had been but partially overcome; and, though conquerors, we could not be said to feel very secure in our new position; and, if the provisions of the treaty were anything more than verbiage, it was clearly to be anticipated that there would be more trouble at a future day. Now any other nation so circumstanced, but ourselves, would have made use of those two years in causing a military survey of the country to be made. Especial attention would have been had to the great military lines of operation: these are always pretty nearly constants, being marked out by the natural features of the country, its practicable roads, fords, &c., and by the position of the capital, chief towns, rich districts and the like. A few officers of engineers, with suitable establishments, labouring under one head and on a well-arranged system, would have completed such a work in the course of the first year—certainly before the campaign of 1848-49 broke out: yet, so simple a precaution, if thought of at all, was so very inadequately provided for, that, when war broke out, our ignorance of the ground, on which the army was to operate, was as profound, as if Lord Gough and his troops had been suddenly thrown ashore in Kamschatka. A thorough knowledge of the ground, on which he was to act, would have been worth five thousand men to Gough, and possibly to Whish; but, though we could pay our civil or military resident highly, and expend large sums in

pensions, and other questionable ways, the obvious and the useful were neglected. A few hundred soldiers' lives, more or less, do not signify, nor the credit of our arms, nor the fame of our generals, nor the shake and perhaps peril of an empire; but the economy, which, whilst it stints the necessary and the useful, squanders on the day-hero and the questionable, is dubbed politic and wise, and lauded accordingly. Every main line of military operations—what may be termed the constants for Punjáb strategical and tactical operations—should have been laid before Lord Gough, when the war again broke out: and it was very inexcusable, grossly culpable neglect, an unpardonable error, that such was not the case.

It has been observed, that, until the fall of Múltán, Lord Gough, unless the enemy committed some very glaring blunder, should have remained on the left bank of the Chenáb. He should have kept the Sikh general carefully under view, and watched his every movement: but he had nothing to gain by crossing the river to attack the Sikhs, for he could not hope to strike a decisive blow. The enemy was not likely to stand, and await imperturbably an attack on his left flank by a detachment; he would rather move up to meet an attack, taking care to have his line of retreat on the Jhelum clear; or to retire, when threatened. If, however, Gough had succeeded in driving him to the southward, he thrust him on the besieging force, which at that time had other irons in the fire, and did not at all desiderate the sudden appearance of Shere Sing in that quarter. Managed as the passage of the Chenáb was, the Sikhs were not likely to be ignorant of what was in contemplation. Quietly to withdraw his artillery of position, from in front of Lord Gough's distant batteries, was no difficult matter. To fall suddenly on Thackwell, and destroy the detachment before it could receive effectual support, was Shere Sing's proper course. If he succeeded, he could resume, if he pleased, his original position; if he did not succeed, his retreat on the Jhelum was safe, and his artillery of position already on its march, secure from capture; for Thackwell was evidently too weak to be able to maintain a hot pursuit in face of the Sikh masses.

Thackwell made a mistake in not occupying the line of the three villages of Tarwalur, Ruttai and Ramú-khail; and in not throwing out his advanced guards and pickets well in front of them. The villages were unoccupied, when he came up to his ground; and there was nothing to prevent his taking up the position, which presented many advantages. As it was, when attacked, he was forced to withdraw his line, and thus gave confidence to the enemy, who took immediate advantage of his neg-

ligence, and themselves occupied the somewhat formidable position he had refused. The British artillery, opposed to about equal numbers, completely at last silenced their opponents; and the confusion, consequent upon this, was so apparent, that the line of infantry, Native and European, were alike anxious to be led against the enemy. It was the moment for an advance: and just at that critical time came Gough's order, leaving Thackwell free to act as his judgment might dictate. A portion of the enemy's guns were in his grasp, and victory sure:—but, instead of action, came a consultation, and the moment was gone for ever. Pennycuik was right in his soldierly advice; it was not a question of attacking Shere Sing's original position and entrenchments, as our author would suggest. Shere Sing had moved out far from his original position and entrenchments, had attacked, and had failed. The question was, whether to make his failure a defeat, accompanied by loss and dishonour, or to permit him to withdraw scatheless, and at leisure, without the loss of a gun. No one in his senses could have argued on the possibility of the original Sikh entrenchments being close in front of the villages: and that to push back the disheartened Sikhs, would be tantamount to knocking the heads of the British troops against such formidable field-works. Every one knew, that if they existed at all, they were miles off. The very doubt on such a head would betray a neglect of ordinary precaution, which is not Thackwell's character. That general deserves no such imputations, for he is wary, cautious, indefatigable in endeavouring to know his ground: and our author has himself told us that "patrols and scouts *were* sent 'towards the Sikh entrenchments, the exact distance of which 'from us was not known.'" He had evidently no suspicion whatever, that such questions, as the following, might be founded on his representations; Why did not the general explore his front and flanks by the irregular or regular cavalry? What sort of alertness is that, which subjects a force to a cannonade, before any thing is known of the approach of an enemy? How long has it been usual in the Indian army, that round shot lobbing into a line of troops shall be the first intelligencers that the foe is at hand? Yet such must be asked, if we are to be guided by our author's work. We take the liberty to correct him. Sir J. Thackwell is a cautious, active, vigilant officer. Age has tamed the fire of youth, but it has given him much experience, and a calmness free from all precipitation on the battle-field. He may have thought himself not strong enough to press on, and turn the failure of the enemy into a decisive defeat; but he did so on no misconception, either of his own whereabouts, or of



that of the Sikh entrenchments. Good soldiers make mistakes occasionally : and in our opinion, Thackwell made two at Saidúlapúr. He, first, with his mind full of the expected junction with Godby, and his attention too exclusively rivetted on that, neglected to occupy the line of villages ; and secondly, when the enemy failed and offered him victory, he stood fast, asked counsel, and let slip the moment. Notwithstanding this over-caution at a critical instant, Sir J. Thackwell is far from being the indifferent officer, which the author's work would, in spite of its stilted endeavours to exalt the object of its peculiar laud, force upon the reader's conviction. All in all, he is a prudent, active, safe commander ; and enjoyed the confidence of officers serving under him, whose abilities and experience were of a far higher order than Mr. Thackwell's.

If Thackwell was over-cautious at Saidúlapúr, Gough was still more slow at Ramnuggur. After harassing the European troops with the elevation of batteries at all imaginable distances, the gratifying result was, that shot and shell were flung away into an enemy's empty camp : and the fact, that there were no Sikhs to pound, being at last accidentally discovered, the main army crossed in support of Thackwell, about the time that the heads of Shere Sing's columns were composedly taking up new positions on the left bank of the Jhelum. Our false move had gained us nothing, except the power of somewhat circumscribing the sphere from whence the enemy, in Gough's front, could draw his supplies—an advantage counter-balanced by the greater difficulties cast on our own over-tasked commissariat department, which was straining every nerve to remedy the normal error of the campaign. The movement indeed elicited a despatch, but one that it would have been far better to have been left unwritten. A few more of the same stamp would make the despatches of British officers as proverbial as bulletins.

The ill-advised passage of the Chenáb, the failure to strike a blow, and the withdrawal of the enemy, intact, to positions of his own choosing, were doubtless sufficiently irritating. The press sang all sorts of notes. After having once made the forward movement, and effected the passage of a formidable river in order to close with the enemy, there was an indignity to the character of our arms, in suddenly and respectfully drawing up, when the patrols and pickets of the two armies were touching each other. Had there been a strong reserve on the river, the siege of Múltán in course of procedure, and field magazines complete, the passage of the Chenáb should only have been the prelude to a rapid advance on the enemy. There was,

however, no available reserve; insecurity was felt at Lahore; Wheler was busy in the Jullunder: the siege of Múltán was far from concluded; commissariat arrangements were anything but complete; and, instead of an unfaltering march on the foe, hesitation and a protracted halt ensued, as if the British army dreaded to measure its strength with the Sikh force. It was felt by every one to be a position derogatory to the *prestige* of the British arms, and calculated to produce an unfavourable impression. Gough would, if left to himself, have moved against the enemy, and have tried the fate of battle: but the Governor-General, on whom the responsibility of Empire pressed, felt and wrote in a different tone. The result was half measures; and, next to error, half measures are the worst in military matters. A protracted halt at and about Heylah, from the 5th December to the 12th January, during which time Attock fell, and Chutter Sing was set free to act in support of Shere Sing, served to excite the impatience of the public, and to produce uneasy feelings that something should be done in almost every one. Strong minds, that can withstand the surprise and abuse of the press, the fretting of the public, and the impatient importunities of an eager army, are rare, whether in Governors-General or Commanders-in-chief. After a month both gave way; and that which, if done at all, should have been done at first, when Attock had not fallen and when we had first crossed the river and closed with the enemy, was now done, on the ground that Attock had fallen, and that Shere Sing might therefore, unless beaten beforehand, receive reinforcements from the side of Peshawur. This, so far as it went, was true: but if the argument had weight against the reasons opposed to crossing the Chenáb, it would have been wiser to allow that weight to operate before Attock had fallen, and whilst Shere Sing, with troops somewhat disheartened by failure against Thackwell, was retiring before the British army. To delay a month, and then fight, was to allow time for the enemy to regain confidence, and to have the assurance that, as Attock had fallen, reinforcements and a strong reserve were either at hand, or available to fall back upon.

At Dingí the plan of battle was determined upon, and explained to the divisional commanders and brigadiers. A tolerably good general idea of the position occupied by the enemy had been obtained, and the dispositions for the attack framed accordingly. The left of the Sikhs rested on the heights of Russúl, whilst the line, passing by Futteh Shah da Chuck, was said to have its right resting on Múng. It was known that the belt of jungle was thick along the front of this position; but a frequented road from Dingí led straight upon Russúl, and the

country was known to be more open and free from jungle along this line of road: and, as the enemy's line must be very extended and weak to cover the ground from Russúl, to Múng, and the great mass of the troops must necessarily be in the plain, it was clear that to march in the direction of Russúl, to force the enemy's left, and to double up his line, and thrust it back in the direction of Futteh Shah da Chuck and Múng, would be to cut him off from the fords of the Jhelum, his line of communications with Chutter Sing, and the strong country between the Jhelum and Attock; from Golab Sing's doubtful troops; from the aid in men and provision he still continued to draw from the Sikh districts at the upper parts of the Chenáb and Jhelum; and to push him south, hemmed in between rivers, he would not have the means of crossing, and upon a country, which could not afford him the means of supporting his force. This was well and soundly reasoned; and, to fulfil these objects, Gough's army marched on the memorable morning of the 13th January, the heavy guns on the main road, Gilbert on their right, Campbell on their left, and cavalry and light artillery on both flanks.

The attack, as planned, would have done credit to a Frederic, and was in his style. Virtually it would have been an *echelon* attack—Gilbert's division forcing the left of the Sikhs, whilst the heavy and field artillery, massed together, would almost have swept in enfilade along the curvilinear position of the centre and right of the Sikhs. As soon as Gilbert's division had shaken and broken in upon the left of the enemy, Campbell, who up to that moment would have been in reserve with the massed artillery, was, with Gilbert and the cavalry, to throw themselves fairly perpendicularly across the left centre of the opposing force, and to hurl it to the southward.

Advancing with these intentions, Gough halted his army at Chota Umrao, whilst he sent on the engineers to reconnoitre a-head. They advanced along the Russúl road, until, finding pickets of Sikh horse close in front and on their flank, they returned, and reported the road, as far as they had been able to proceed, clear and practicable for the guns, and the enemy marching down in columns of infantry from the heights of Russúl, apparently to take up their position in the plain. This was about ten o'clock in the morning, or a little after; and Gough, on hearing their report, continued his march along the road to Russúl. After proceeding some little distance beyond the village of Chota Umrao, some deserters from the Sikh camp came to Major Mackeson, informing him that the enemy was in some strength, on the left of Gough's advancing column, in the neighbourhood of the villages of Mozawala and Chillianwala.

On hearing this, Gough inclined to his left, and quitted the Russúl road. He at the same time sent on the engineers to reconnoitre, directing them to explore in the direction of Chillianwala: meanwhile the army continued slowly inclining to the left of its original direction. The engineers returned, and reported small detachments of horse in advance of the mound of Chillianwala on the plain, and infantry on the mound. Upon this, Gough turned to his left, and marched his whole force straight on Chillianwala, leaving the Russúl road in rear of, and parallel to, his line when it was deployed. It would have been a very hazardous movement in front of an intelligent general, with troops quick and ready at manœuvre; for Gough offered his right to an enemy in position within four thousand yards of him, with a thickish belt of jungle, which would have covered their approach, until they debouched and formed across his exposed flank. However, the outpost of Sikhs retired precipitately from the mound, and fell back upon its main line by the Múng road.

From the top of the mound of Chillianwala the enemy's position was distinctly visible; and the army had to bring up its left in order again to front the Sikh line. Whilst this change of front was being effected, and the British force was assuming its new alignment, their commander was examining the position of the enemy from the tops of the houses of the village of Chillianwala. The Sikhs were drawn out in battle array. Their right centre, which was immediately in front of Chillianwala, was about two miles distant from the village, but less from the British line, which was deploying about five hundred yards in front. The Sikh left trended off to rest on the heights of Russúl. There was a great interval between the left of the right wing of the Sikhs under Utar Sing, and the right of their centre under Shere Sing. It was evident that the enemy occupied a position too extended for his numbers; and, jealous of his extreme right, it was refused, and inclined back towards Múng. The British line did little more than oppose a front to Shere Sing's centre, the right of which it a little overlapped, so that Campbell's left brigade was opposite to part of the gap we have noted in the enemy's order of array—a circumstance to be kept in mind, as it told in the course of the battle. Front for front therefore the British army faced only the Sikh centre: their right and left, extending far beyond the left and right of Gough's force, were free to take advantage of the disposition, if events favoured.

Being about two o'clock in the afternoon, and the troops having been under arms since day-break, Gough determined to

defer the action, if possible, until the morrow, for he had but a remnant of the short day then before him. The quarter-master-general was accordingly busy making the usual arrangements, whilst the troops, drawn up in front of the village, were awaiting the issue, whether that were a quiet encampment for the night, or immediate battle. Shere Sing had no wish to give them a night's rest, or to afford time for dispositions, which should favour an attack otherwise than on his front: so, perceiving that Gough shewed no intention of attacking, he sought, knowing the impetuosity of the British general, to bring on the action, and with this view, he advanced a few guns, and opened fire at a distance, which rendered it very innocuous and in no wise compromised his pieces.

The enemy's fire determined Gough to attack: the heavy guns were ordered to respond, and having got into position, opened fire, at a distance of between 1,500 or 1,700 yards from the enemy. They had however to judge their distance by timing the seconds between the flash and the report of the enemy's guns, and could see nothing amid the thick jungle in which they were placed. They were not left long to play single at their blind, but, as it chanced; effective game; for Gough, feeling that daylight was precious, very soon ordered the British line to advance. This was about three o'clock in the afternoon, or a little after. Steadily, and as well as the jungle admitted of its doing, that line advanced at the bidding of its chief, whilst the enemy, relieved from the fire of the heavy guns, opened all his artillery on the approaching infantry. The Commander-in-chief, who had at first given out that his staff would always find him near the heavy guns, advanced considerably in front of them, and was in rear of the centre and right of Gilbert's division, being desirous of seeing more than he could have done from the position of the heavy guns.

For a while nothing but the roar of the enemy's artillery was to be heard; but after a time, the sharp rattle of the musquetry spoke that the conflict had begun in earnest, and that the infantry was closing on the enemy's position. Campbell's right brigade (that of Pennycuik) came full in front of Shere Sing's right centre, which was strengthened by many guns. Though the fire of these had been rapid, the brigade had suffered comparatively little, until, breaking out of the jungle, it came to a more open space in front of the guns. Now the storm of shot and grape thickened, and the gallant brigade charged: but the jungle had necessarily disordered the formations, and, having to charge over about three hundred yards, the men were winded before reaching the guns, and broke from the charging pace at the moment

that it was most important to have continued it. The brigade fell unavoidably into some confusion; and a close well-delivered fire of musquetry from the Sikh infantry, followed by a rush of their horse, completed the disorder and the defeat of the British brigade, which, already broken, now fled, pursued with great havoc by the Sikh sabres, almost up to the original position of the British line at the commencement of the action.

Campbell happened to be with Hoggan's brigade. He had overlapped the right of Shere Sing's centre, and, marching on the gap, we have already noted, he did not meet at first with the opposition, which fell to the lot of Pennycuick's brigade. When the latter was attacking the batteries, Campbell, finding he had outflanked the enemy, brought up his left so as to place his brigade on the right flank of Shere Sing's formation; and, as the pursuit of Pennycuick's brigade somewhat weakened Shere Sing's right by withdrawing horse from it and throwing the infantry forward, Campbell soon found himself in sharp conflict with the infantry and guns of the enemy, whom he now took in flank and at disadvantage. They were, however, quick to front him, and shewed no purpose of being easily beat. Meanwhile, although the cavalry under Thackwell and the guns under Brind kept in check to some extent the troops with Utar Sing, that is to say, checked their advance to their own front, they could not prevent corps of his infantry marching to their own left, and falling on the rear and left flank of Campbell. The latter therefore soon found himself engaged in front, flank, and rear, and his brigade's safety was to fight desperately. All honour to H. M.'s 61st for a most indomitable courage, during that mortal struggle, and on that strange day of stern vicissitudes!

Whilst matters stood thus on the British left, the right under Gilbert had as hard a contest to maintain; for he too not only had to storm batteries supported by infantry in his front, but, owing to the break in the British line by the retreat of Pennycuick's brigade, and the repulse of the cavalry brigade with a loss of guns, both his left and right flanks were at the mercy of the enemy, whilst the repulse of the gallant 56th N. I., after severe loss, disconnected his two brigades, and made a gap in the centre of his division. He, too, like Campbell, found himself enveloped, forced to fight to front, rear, and flanks—a strange mixed combat, for even his two brigades were separated, and strove singly but bravely! Dawes's battery of guns did good service on that day: for, in spite of jungle and every difficulty, whenever in a moment of peril he was most needed, Dawes was sure to be at hand; his fire boxed the compass before even-

ing, and Gilbert felt and handsomely acknowledged the merit and the valour of Dawes and his gunners.

The day wore a frowning gloom at one period for Gough. The grey-headed commander sat calmly watching the issue of events, when a staff officer rode up, and reported Pennycuick's brigade to have been beaten back to the village with heavy loss, and half the 24th down. Shortly after Gough himself had to witness the cavalry on his right retiring in confusion, and passing to the rear of where he stood: whilst the Sikh horsemen, only checked by Grant's being at last able, disembarassed of the flying cavalry, to bring round a gun and fire a shot, were within a few hundred yards of the Commander-in-chief. This was followed by a cloud of dispersed infantry retiring in confusion and dismay from the front, and giving the impression that Gilbert's division too was shaken. It seemed as if left, front, and right were yielding, and the day promised to be a black one in our annals. At length, however, the well-known cheer of the British infantry sounded exultingly over the roar of the artillery and the rattle of the musquetry: and gratefully it must have struck upon the old leader's ear, for he knew that it was the shout of victory, and that that stout infantry, which has so often upheld its country's fame and honour in moments of appalling difficulty, had again proved true to itself, and would come forth with untarnished lustre out of the sanguinary struggle which was raging around.

Penny's reserve brigade had been brought up on the repulse of Pennycuick's: but brigades were by that time disconnected, fighting as each best could; and, by accident, he joined Gilbert's right brigade, and wisely stuck to it.

The enemy's artillery now fired more slackly and fitfully; the musquetry rang sharp and fast; and it seemed as if the brigades, unable to see or support each other, communicated by hearty cheers that each made good its ground.

Meanwhile, after Grant with a few rounds had driven back the small band of triumphant Sikh horse, the cavalry had reformed; and we feel convinced, that, had Lord Gough ridden up at this moment to H. M. 14th Dragoons, spoken a few words to the corps, and bid them retrieve the lost guns and strike for the bright fame of their Peninsular honour, they would have swept on like a whirlwind, and dashed upon the retiring confused masses of the enemy, as heedless of numbers as Unett's squadron of the 3rd had done on Utar Sing's compact unshaken troops. It would have saved many a bitter pang, many a reproach, and silenced for ever the mention of the unhappy

and unaccountable retreat, which gave our guns and gunners to the enemy. It would too have prevented the withdrawal of the infantry from the ground so hardly won; and all the guns taken from the Sikhs, and all the wounded, of whom we had many, would have been saved. Guns and cavalry were left, where they had reformed, as if useless; whereas the horsemen, having come to their senses from the strange momentary panic into which they had been surprised, were themselves eager to wipe out the remembrance of the event, and were headed by officers, that would have led them chivalrously. Grant's brigade of guns, though overwhelmed and forced back by the sweep of the retreating cavalry, had never partaken of the panic. Stern, calm, and as ready for battle as before a shot had been fired, he would have rendered invaluable service at the close of the action, when Shere Sing's forces, driven from their ground, were retiring to the heights of Russûl—guns, horse, and foot, in a confused and crowded mass. Grant's brigade of artillery and the cavalry were however left to their own moody thoughts and inglorious inaction; whilst Gough rode forward to the infantry, which was close in front of him.

How much a mere handful of men could effect had been shown by Lane, who, on the extreme right, even after the retreat of the brigade of cavalry, had isolated his position, kept in check large masses of the enemy's horse, and by his firmness prevented the Sikhs from taking advantage of the repulse of the main body of our cavalry on the right. More important service was never done to an army than by Lane's four squadrons and guns. But for their conduct, there is no calculating what the issue of the day might have been, had the masses of horse and foot on the enemy's left borne down upon our right and rear, both vitally exposed when the cavalry brigade gave ground. A few steady horsemen and guns may be said to have remedied this otherwise fatal event: yet, such is the discrimination of despatches, that this admirable service, so firmly, so judiciously, so timely performed, met with no mention, and no thanks! For once we concur in Mr. Thackwell's remarks.

Sir J. Thackwell and his guns and cavalry on the left had also done important service. He held in check Utar Sing's force, and prevented its bearing down upon our left and rear, when Pennycuik's brigade was beaten. It was impossible for him to prevent Utar Sing from pouring some of his battalions upon Campbell's rear and flank; for this could be done without Thackwell being either aware of, or able from his position and the nature of his force to prevent, the movement; but he, like Lane, did very great service on that memorable day, by main-



taining an imposing front, working Brind's guns to advantage, and shewing by the gallant Unett's daring charge, that Utar Sing's advance from his ground, without the support of his batteries of position, would meet with no respect from those ready swordsmen, and that, once in motion, the Sikh chief might look for rough handling from the 3rd Dragoons and their native comrades. Thackwell acted wisely, cautiously, and firmly.

It cannot be denied that the effect produced by the great loss sustained, the defeat of one brigade of infantry, the panic of the cavalry on the right, and the disgrace of losing guns, was to damp the confidence of the leader, and of some of his divisional commanders, and that it shook too, when the amount of loss was known, the confidence of the troops; nor was this feeling counterbalanced by our having driven the enemy from his position, taken or spiked many of his guns, and remained masters of the field. Yet in our opinion the latter consideration ought to have prevailed: and it was an error to withdraw the infantry from the ground they had very nobly won, leaving the wounded to their fate, and the guns taken to be recovered by the enemy. Night had come on; and the Sikhs, who had retired in confusion, were not likely to disturb the bivouac with more than a distant random shot. It was perfectly practicable to have bivouacked the infantry, supported by guns, on the ground until daylight, by which time the wounded, and the captured guns might have been secured, the weary troops refreshed, and, when day dawned, such dispositions made as circumstances warranted. Nothing was in fact gained by massing our force confusedly on Chillianwala; and much was lost. Whether or not, when day broke, Gough would have been able to advance and drive the Sikhs from their position, may fairly be open to question. We incline to the opinion that the infantry, confident in their own unaided success, and scarce aware of the conduct of the cavalry, of the loss of guns, and of the havoc in Pennycuick's brigade, would have moved readily to the storm of the position. Our heavy artillery was intact, perfectly prepared for action; our field artillery had suffered, and much ammunition had to be replaced; but before morning all would have been ready; and, by massing heavy and light guns, the infantry would have advanced under cover of such a storm of shot and shell, that the shaken Sikh masses, already broken in confidence, would have yielded the position, and in all probability would have fled, even before the infantry moved up to close and storm. If, in order to avoid the shot and shell, the masses had taken to the ravines and broken ground, the havoc would scarce have been less from the lobbing shot and bursting shell; and, when the infantry closed, the exe-

cution would have been awful: for the field artillery could have moved up to the last in support of the infantry, and the heaped and confused masses of the enemy would have been devoted to a terrible carnage. The action would have been over, before the rain of the 14th began.

This, however, was not the feeling, or the opinion, of the influential commanders: and, it must be freely allowed, that they had strong arguments to advance in favour of the course that was pursued. We had suffered very severely. The enemy's position, upon which they had retired, was close, formidable to appearance, and unknown. Our troops were in want of food, rest, and ammunition. To bivouac on the ground might deprive the infantry of water, and food, and refreshment, as they might be harassed all night by the enemy's cannonade. There was a good deal of disorder; night was closing; the army should be concentrated, and, before more was attempted, the organization of the force restored. We will not pretend to say which was the correct view: but our own opinion is, that, having expected an easy victory, the sanguinary vicissitudes of the day had, although crowned with ultimate success, too much depressed some of the commanders, and that the Lion Counsel was on this occasion the best. Far be it from us however to pronounce authoritatively: for failure might have had most serious consequences. The issue could alone have proved the wisdom or the reverse of the more daring course. We know, however, that the Sikh infantry were desponding and dispirited at the close of the hard-fought day of the 13th January.

Lord Gough's original project of attack was admirable; and he committed a great error in departing from it. Had he advanced along the Rûssul road without turning off to his left, he would have gained, at a distance of about two thousand yards from the foot of the hills, open ground, free from heavy jungle; and he would have found nothing in the form of natural obstacles to impede the execution of his contemplated mode of attack. He would, speaking with submission to the inscrutable will of an over-ruling Providence, have won a great and effectual victory, instead of a resultless action. Had he held on from Chota Umrao, he would have been in position about eleven o'clock, and before noon the battle would have begun.

When, however, he departed from his original intention, struck off to his left, and took up a position in front of Chillianwala, the gap between the enemy's right wing under Utar Sing, and Shere Sing's centre, merited attention, and a rapid attack, which should have placed the leading division, where Campbell broke in upon the enemy's line, would have given victory speedily, but

not of so decisive a character as would have ensued from the original project; moreover, it would have required nice management and a departure from our every-day fashion of attack.

As it was, our attack, fair upon the centre of the enemy, gave the latter the full advantage of his very extended position; and, as his centre was covered by thickish bushy jungle, which dislocated all formations in line, and inevitably produced confusion in the brigades, besides offering difficulties to the movements of the guns and to bringing them into action, the troops were sure to come into contact with the Sikh infantry and guns in the most unfavourable condition, their organization disturbed, and nothing but their own courage and the example of their officers to compensate for every conceivable disadvantage. Verily, British infantry, British officers, and British bayonets are of such a character, so entirely to be relied upon, that it is no wonder that British Generals will dare and risk much. The dauntless valour of the infantry rectifies the errors of its commanders, and carries them through, what would otherwise be inevitable defeat and disgrace. But it redeems their errors with its blood: and seldom has there been more devotion, but, alas! more carnage, than on the hard-fought field of Chillianwala, a field fairly won, though bravely contested by the Sikhs of all arms. Indecisive in its strategical and political effects, it was not the less valour's victory: and, notwithstanding the remarks alleged to have lately been made by the Governor-General on that battle field and the memorial to its slain, it is a victory, which, whether inscribed or not on the colours of the infantry, the latter may, and will be prouder of, than of most which decorate its standards: for it justly deems that struggle of two hours' deadly strife, to have ended, we repeat, in valour's victory.

We have dealt chiefly with the main features of the campaign, and have felt neither taste nor inclination for the exposure of the numerous errors and misrepresentations, which disfigure Mr. Thackwell's work. Our object has been rather to convey a clear general conception of events and their causes, a bird's eye view of affairs, than to descend into details. We cannot, however, altogether omit noticing his groundless animadversions; and perhaps the simplest and most effective method of doing so is to reprint the gentlemanly, thoroughly truthful, and soldierly letter of Lieutenant Colonel Bradford, and that signed by the officers of the 45th Bengal native infantry. This is the more necessary, as our English readers, not aware of the extreme inaccuracy, the blunders, and prejudices of Mr. Thackwell, might, if we omitted all notice of his ignorance, mis-statement of facts, and crude

presumption, have a very inadequate idea of the thorough untrustworthiness of the work:—

THE BATTLE OF CHILLIANWALLAH.

*To the Editor of the United Service Magazine*

MR. EDITOR,—My attention has been called to an article in your Magazine, headed "The Battle of Chillianwallah."

The statement there given, as far as it relates to the 2nd Brigade of Cavalry, not only implies a want of exertion on my part in restoring order, after the command of the Brigade devolved upon me, but the writer of it endeavours to fix upon me the odium of having given an order, which, it is said, occasioned the disaster, which afterwards occurred.

As I am not disposed to remain silent under such a charge, I have to observe in reply, that the circumstance of Brigadier Pope's having been wounded and disabled was only made known to me after the brigade had finally rallied; I was therefore not in a position to give any orders to the 14th Dragoons during the retreat.

I solemnly declare that I gave no order to retire, either to my own, or to any other regiment; nor did I hear such an order given; and the first intimation I had of the retreat of the brigade was, having it pointed out to me by one of my own officers, when we were in the midst of, and actually engaged with, the advanced party of the Ghorechurras; after which my whole energies and attention were necessarily directed to my own regiment, then giving way.

My trumpeter sounded the halt and rally repeatedly, which had the effect of halting the three troops of my own regiment engaged,\* and other squadrons; but, our flank being by this time turned by the Ghorechurras, the retreat was continued, in spite of my exertions to stop it.

I may here mention, that although there was great confusion, yet the retreat of that part of the line, which I witnessed, was not such a "*sauve qui peut*" affair, as the writer in your Magazine describes it: for example, my regiment did not ride through the ranks of the Artillery, or penetrate to the Field Hospital. On the contrary, we rallied in the right rear of the guns, and many officers exerted themselves to stop the retreat; and the following fact will in some measure prove my view of the case:—A standard of another regiment, which had fallen, its bearer having been killed in the advance, was brought in during the retreat by a havildar of my regiment, and restored to its own, after we rallied.

There are several mis-statements, which I desire to notice, apparently introduced for the purpose of throwing blame on the Native Cavalry and its officers.

1st. The writer of this article has revived the story of a young officer of Light Cavalry having given the order, "three about," as emanating from authority.

The story was sifted at the time, and acknowledged by the officer, who brought it forward, to be without foundation; and this the writer could hardly have been ignorant of.

2nd. The account implies, that no squadron of direction was ordered, whereas Brigadier Pope named a squadron of the 14th Dragoons, and was seen in front of them, and he ordered the "trot" and "gallop."

3rd. It is well known that the Brigadier led the 14th Dragoons, and was wounded in front of them; therefore, the supposition, which the writer in-

\* The other three troops were detached with Colonel Lane's guns.

dulges in, that the 6th Light Cavalry were the first to turn, because their colonel was wounded, goes for nothing.

4th. The other regiment could not have forced the 14th on the guns, as stated in the article in question, as we inclined to the left during the retreat, until after the temporary rally, when the troops inclined to the right, on the flank being turned. But I do not think this could have affected the Dragoons, who by this time must have passed through the guns, having had a shorter distance to move.

If, as the writer states, "the turning of two troops" in a jungle is sufficient reason to convert an attack into a retreat (a fact which, though asserted by him, I apprehend most cavalry officers would be loth to admit), then why is it necessary for the honour of the 14th Dragoons, that a young officer of Light Cavalry should be conjured up to give the word "threes about?" Why is the camp whisper—satisfactorily disposed of at the time—to be re-echoed? and finally, why are faults to be imputed to me, of which I am wholly ignorant, and now hear of for the first time? Why are orders and actions insinuated and inferred, which never took place?

I can well imagine, Sir, that the fame and renown of a distinguished Cavalry regiment are dear to their country: but does that justify the sacrifice of the reputation of others?

I think that even the most ardent admirers and anxious apologists of the regiment alluded to, would, on knowing the fallacy of the arguments, shrink from the disingenuousness of their advocate.

I hope, Sir, it may prove that the writer of this article has done as little harm to those, whom he involves in his false accusations and insinuations, as (in the minds of all men at all acquainted with the unhappy circumstances) he has done good to the cause of the regiment, of which he is, I conceive, the self-appointed advocate.

Requesting you will give this letter an early insertion in your Magazine,

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

J. F. BRADFORD,

*Lieut-Col. Commdg. 1st Lt. Cav.*

*Cawnpur, November 21st, 1850.*

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*To the Editor of the United Service Magazine.*

MR. EDITOR,—We beg to send you an article, which we request you will publish in a conspicuous part of the *United Service Magazine*. It is only fair that you should do so, after the article on the Battle of Chillianwallah, which appeared in your number for September, 1850.

We have ever been averse to moot this subject, being unwilling that the slightest slur should be cast on a regiment of Europeans, our own countrymen. We believe them to have been over-eager—that they knew not the description of enemy they were about to meet,—that, in short, they despised the Sikhs. We believe them to be brave and good soldiers, and that it was only the severe and galling fire of the enemy, coupled with that of the enemy's resolution and other causes mentioned in our article, which caused them to retreat. But, in thus stating our opinion, we would observe that it has become too much the custom to decry the native troops—that corps of Europeans should not be praised at the expence of their native comrades,—that credit should be given where credit is due—and that we feel as deeply a stigma, thrown on our Native regiments, as on any in H. M. service under the same circumstances.

Nearly two years have elapsed since the action of Chillianwallah; and during that time we have remained silent, trusting that the affair would

have been dropped. Now, however, when it is again stirred up, we consider it but due to ourselves, and but justice to our sepoy, to contradict the report of H. M. 24th outrunning the 45th. If need were, we are certain that Lord Gough would defend us. He knows the regiment well, and ever spoke highly of it. We give you full permission to publish this letter, and would account for the few signatures, by stating that, of those who were present at Chillianwallah:—

Colonel Williams is absent with another Corps.

Captain Oakes is absent on political employ.

Captain Haldane is dead.

Lieutenant Oakes is dead.

Lieutenant Palmer is dead.

Ensign Evans is dead.

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We beg to subscribe ourselves,

Your obedient Servants,

A. S. O. DONALDSON, *Lieut. and Adj.*

J. FRASER, *Lieut. 45th N. I.*

G. C. BLOOMFIELD, *Lieut. 45th N. I.*

MILFORD TOZER, *Lieut.*

A. E. OSBORNE, *Lieut.*

W. L. TROTTER, *Lieut.*

I have perused the accompanying account of the action of Chillianwallah and believe it to be essentially correct.

C. O. HAMILTON, *Capt. on Furlough, Med. Certificate.*

*Feb. 11th, 1851.*

In the September Number of this Magazine there appeared an article, headed, "The Battle of Chillianwallah."

We also have a few words to say on that murderous, but not doubtful field. We say, not doubtful, though many think otherwise; for many there are, who cannot distinguish between victory and the fruits of victory, between a conquered or only a beaten foe. The Sikhs at Chillianwallah were beaten, but not conquered. They were driven from the field of battle, only to take post in a more formidable position amidst the ravines of Mung Russul.

Had two hours more daylight remained to Lord Gough on that eventful eve, he would have gained a far greater, though not so bloodless a, victory as Gúzerat: for the Sikhs, cooped up in a bend of the Jhelum, and minus the whole of their artillery, which must have been left on the field, or at the foot of the heights, would have been almost annihilated. They never could have made head again: the campaign would have ended there. Yet, though fortune thus interfered, she did not abandon her ancient favourite. Twelve Sikh guns were left upon the field of battle—a larger trophy than remained to Napoleon after the victories of Lutzen and Bautzen.

Our present object, however, is not to defend Lord Gough, who needs no defence, but to do justice to those who cannot defend themselves; and if, in the execution of our task, we should seem to speak questionably of the conduct of some, we beg to assure our readers we do so with the utmost regret. We do so from necessity, because we cannot, without dereliction of duty, allow those to be misrepresented, over whose welfare destiny has made us the guardians. We therefore now give a correct version of the advance and repulse of Pennycook's Brigade at the battle of

#### CHILLIANWALLAH.

This brigade consisted of H. M. 24th, the 25th N. I., and the 45th N. I. The 24th numbered about 1,100 bayonets, whilst the 45th N. I. had 800. We have more especially to do with this native regiment, to prove that the

reflection cast on it in the September number of this Magazine, is unjust ; and to assure our readers that the 45th N. I. was never outrun by the Europeans, when approaching the enemy, but supported them throughout well and firmly.

We commenced our march in contiguous columns, the 25th N. I. on the right, the 45th N. I. on the left, and H. M. 24th in the centre. The halt was sounded about ten o'clock, and each man opened three bundles of cartridges. After about an hour's halt, the brigade deployed into line and loaded. The battery attached to the brigade went to the front, and about 12 o'clock came on the enemy's advanced post.

It was a mound intrenched, and distant about 200 yards from the village of Chillianwallah. (On this very spot sleep most of our comrades who fell in the action).

The force of the enemy at this post was said to amount to five hundred men and two guns.

The first shot was fired by the enemy ; and our battery replied warmly, whilst the infantry continued advancing until close in rear of our guns. A loud cheer was then given ; and the enemy fled, carrying off, however, their guns and losing but few men.

We proceeded a short distance beyond this post, and halted a little to the left of the village of Chillianwallah. The reason of the halt was not known, but it was supposed that it was Lord Gough's wish to ascertain the true position of the enemy. In about half an hour, the quarter-masters of corps, with camp colours, were sent for ; and it was understood we should encamp for that day. Our fatigues were, however, not yet over. The booming of artillery was soon heard. Our politicals (heavy guns) answered in style, and we could soon perceive an extensive line of the enemy's batteries by the smoke from their guns. All was now excitement !

After this cannonading had lasted for some time, our brigade was ordered to advance in line. It was soon anything but a line—marching through thick jungle, having to clear our way through enclosures of thorns, how could it be otherwise than broken ? We could see no distance to our front. Our light companies were ordered to skirmish, but not to fire. They might have knocked over many of the enemy, who were among the bushes and up in trees taking our distance, had it not been for this extraordinary order. We received this order from Brigadier Pennyquick, with the remark that everything was to be done with the bayonet.

When about 300 yards from the enemy's guns, either with or without orders, our whole brigade gave a cheer, and set off at the double. Many round shot had passed over us, and our battery had not opened its fire. At length it did so, but only fired about four shots when the line went a-head, the 45th N. I. not losing a foot of ground, but keeping up all the way with the Europeans. As we advanced, the fire became hotter and hotter. The enemy commenced in earnest, finding we did not return a shot. Suddenly, a battery, until then silent, opened unexpectedly on our left, and sent such a raking fire amongst us, that the ground was actually ploughed up. A battery, it is said, opened also on the right flank ; almost every man killed and wounded in the 45th N. I. was hit from the left.

A short distance from the enemy's guns, the brigade was quite blown. It halted, the 45th N. I. shoulder to shoulder with H. M. 24th. Then was shown the absurdity of charging so soon ! The order not to fire should have been countermanded. The enemy's guns to the front were placed on a mound, and opened upon us with grape and round shot. Their infantry, also, poured in a galling fire : and still we were silent. A good rattling file fire would have soon driven the gunners from their

guns. It was very lucky for us that their infantry fired so badly, and that, from our proximity, we were within the range of their guns. It was soon perceived that the enemy wished to concentrate their fire on the Europeans, easily known and quite conspicuous in their Albert hats. From the very long line of H. M. 24th, it is impossible for us to say what took place on their right; but we can safely affirm that the Grenadier Company of the 45th N. I. was close to, and in line with, the left company of H. M. 24th—not a single pace in the rear. Three of the enemy's guns were quite distinct in front of the 45th. Even the gunners were clearly seen; and the 45th were as near to those guns, as the Europeans. The enemy never left those guns, whilst the brigade was near them. We repeat, that what H. M. 24th did on their right, we know nothing about; but this we know, that their left wing was never one foot in advance of the 45th N. I., when approaching the enemy.

We were under the impression that the Europeans were merely taking breath, and would immediately make the final spring; but the enemy's fire had been very severe, and, as it was concentrated on the Europeans, they could not stand it, but broke and made off for the village. The 45th N. I. followed their example. It was not to be expected that natives would stand, when Europeans would not. We rallied at the village of Chillianwallah.

After a time we were marched down to support Gilbert's division, which had got into the enemy's trenches. After getting near, we were ordered to concentrate on some batteries; here we remained until nearly dark. The dead of H. M. 29th, and of the 56th N. I., were lying thick, as were also numbers of Sikhs, most of them grey-headed men, and two of them Sirdars. Three shots then passed over us, when the order was given to retire, and, after great difficulty in finding our way, we reached again the village of Chillianwallah. A very slight drizzling rain fell during the night.

The tremendous fire of the enemy—the difficulty of advancing through thick jungle—the broken line—the absurdly long charge—the sudden fire of flanking batteries, and the order not to fire, were the true reasons of the repulse, and would have been quite sufficient, without laying it to the shuffling along of the natives in English leather shoes. The 45th N. I. did not wear English leather shoes. The forced marches, preceding the battle of Múdkí, will show how well the natives pushed along, and that they are not easily out-marched by Europeans.

It is well known that the 45th, in the retreat, kept very well together; hence the small number of casualties in that corps, and the fact of their three colours coming safely out of action. The retreat of the 45th was also covered by a body of their own men, amounting to 52 files, with four officers. Three times were parties of the enemy beaten off by this body, who expended sixty rounds of ammunition per man. That their fire was effective, may be inferred from the fact, that only three men of the 45th were cut up, whilst the great loss of H. M. 24th was sustained in the retreat. This small party afterwards joined Brigadier Hoggan, and charged with his brigade. From the thick jungle, the other sepoys saw not, or did not notice this small force, or all would have rallied at once.

Before closing this article, we would remark that, in a work on the last campaign by Dr. McGregor, the blame is thrown on the native regiments. We were silent on its appearance, because we considered it beneath our notice, being written by one who was not present, and whose work is certainly nothing extraordinary; but, when an aspersion is thrown on the native corps in such a wide-spread periodical as the *United Service Magazine*, we are bound to point out the inaccuracy.



The European cavalry, engaged on the right, needed no such self-appointed indiscreet advocate as Mr. Thackwell; and its noble-minded officers will feel no gratitude for a defence, based upon an endeavour, by the resuscitation of a ridiculous rumour exploded at the time, and by the sacrifice of the reputation of gallant officers, to cast blame where none was merited, and thus to apologize for one of those events, with which the military history of cavalry actions is replete. We could quote many instances, had we the space or leisure; but it would be useless; for some future day will show that the old spirit, which hurled two weak unsupported squadrons under Hervey upon the French at the Douro, and brought them back again through the masses that had closed in upon their rear after their daring charge, is not extinct, but fresh and living in the hearts and arms of men and officers. There will be many chivalrous Herveys to lead; and their followers will wipe out all memory of the strange retreat at Chillianwala by noble bearing and gallant deeds. We mistake, if their next field day, should the opportunity be afforded, be not memorable in the annals of cavalry success.

We have stated plainly that, in our opinion, Lord Gough was in error in departing from his original project of attack. It will have been easily inferred, that, on the field of Chillianwala, though the aged commander merits all praise for his courage and firmness, there was little skill; and that, after his infantry had won him a victory, it is questionable, whether he was right in yielding his own more noble opinion to the sentiments of his subordinate commanders, and whether the throwing up half the symbols of his victory was well considered or wise. We shall now have the more pleasant task of showing that, subsequently to the battle, which had cost him so much in men and officers, and had added so little to his reputation, the course, which he pursued, was on the whole the proper one to be adopted, and, as is well known, that it was finally crowned by entire success on the well-planned and well fought field of Gúzerat.

The day after the action of Chillianwala, an error was committed in taking up too confined a position for the British camp. Instead of the compact parallelogram between Chillianwala and Mozawala, the left of the army should have rested on Chillianwala, the right on Kokri and its mound, and a strong outpost should have occupied the hill top opposite to Kokri. During the few first days, before the Sikhs had regained confidence, there was nothing to have prevented this position being assumed; and, had it been taken up, the enemy would have been so entirely under observation from the out-post, so closely cabined

in his narrow inconvenient position, that in all probability he would have withdrawn at night, and retired upon the fords of the Jhelum. The British army, on the more extended, but strong position, which we have mentioned, would have covered the roads to Dingí, and to Ramnuggur by Heylah; would have commanded the main road by the Khúri pass between the Jhelum and Guzerat; would have threatened the Sikh line of retreat and operations between the Jhelum and Russúl; and would thus have rendered the Sikh position on the heights of Russúl untenable, without striking a blow or firing a shot to drive them from it. To coop up the British camp into a narrow parallelogram, answered no purpose except to facilitate the enemy's foraging parties, to restore his confidence, to enable him to harass and insult the contracted position of the British General, and to maintain the command of the lines of road at the moment so important to the Sikh General. Nor was this error obviated by the ultimate erection of a redoubt on the Kokri mound. This somewhat restrained the insolence of the Sikh patrols and foragers, and made them respect the right of Gough's position: but it secured none of the strategetical objects, which would have been attained, had the British General taken up at first the position, which was obviously on every account the most desirable, and which it would have been practicable to assume without a chance of active opposition. Much was thrown away of the fruits of victory by withdrawing from the ground, which the infantry had so nobly won at Chillianwala: but, when this had been done, much more was lost and thrown away, in our opinion, by failing to perceive the strategetical importance of the position, which, for several days after the battle, the enemy left optional to Lord Gough to take up or not as he pleased. Afterwards, when our own timidity had restored their confidence, the Sikhs saw the momentous importance of what we had neglected. They became exceeding jealous of the hill top looking down on Kokri; and any demonstration on the part of Gough to seize it would have been stoutly contested.

Múltán fell on the 22nd; and, on the 26th, a salute was fired from the heavy guns posted on the mound of Chillianwala. The Sikhs turned out from their entrenchments to gaze upon the British camp, and wonder what the salute portended.

The Sikh army had been busily employed ever since the 13th, in strengthening their Russúl position. When joined by Chutter Sing's reinforcements and the Affghans, their position became too confined for their numbers, and the difficulty of provisioning their forces was enhanced. It now became the

object of the Sikh commander, if possible, to bring the British army to action, before the reinforcements, set free by the fall of Múltán, could join.

On the other hand Lord Gough was in a position, which, though inconveniently contracted, covered and gave him the command of the direct road by Heylah on Ramnuggur, and thus secured his communications with the expected reinforcements. He watched the hard-won field of battle and the open ground between Múng and the belt of jungle, so that the enemy could not well hazard a flank movement in face of the British force in that direction. He commanded the road from Russúl on Dingí, and observed that by Khúri on the same place. His proper course, therefore, was evidently not to gratify the Sikh general by an untimely and indecisive action, but to hold Shere Sing in check, until Whish's reinforcements came within the sphere of tactical operations. Matters stood thus, when the Sikhs, being in force at Púran as well as at Russúl, thrust their horse through the Khúri pass, and, on the 3rd February, thus threatened the road by Khúri on Dingí.

Mackeson, who had the credit of having wrung from the Governor-General a qualified assent to an attack on the Sikh position, and of having thus brought on the fight of Chillianwala, now advocated such a change of position, as would bring the army opposite the Khúri pass, and prevent the Sikhs from issuing forth upon the plain and marching on Gúzerat. In order to avoid an action, the change of position was to be effected by two or three pivotings on the flank of the camp.

The objections to this were obvious. Such a change of position, if effected as suggested, laid open the direct road by Heylah on Ramnuggur; threw up the battle field, and allowed the enemy to resume his original positions—an event which was sure to produce a bad moral effect—besides leaving it optional with the enemy to threaten or act upon our direct line of communication with Ramnuggur. Not only would the battle of Chillianwala have palpably been then fought for nothing, but Gough must have fallen back from his new position across the Khúri road, and might have found himself awkwardly situated by one of the Sikh commander's bold and rapid movements.

Gough was very right in holding on where he stood. Provided he watched the movements of the enemy, there was nothing to be apprehended from his issuing forth upon the plain. On the contrary, the Sikh commander would thus in all probability afford the British General the opportunity of fighting a decisive action. All that it behoved Lord Gough to be careful of was, that, if the enemy issued in force by the Khúri pass and

threw up the Russúl position, he should not be permitted to march on Gúzerat and across the Chenáb, before the British army could close and prevent the passage of the river. With ordinary vigilance and prudence, Gough's position rendered the unimpeded passage of the Chenáb by the Sikhs almost an impossibility. He was in every respect justified therefore in giving weight to the objections against Mackeson's proposal, and in standing fast.

The enemy finding that the show of their horse through the Khúri pass had produced no effect on the British General, encamped in force, on the 5th, at the mouth of the Khúri pass, and, on the 6th February, pushed on their horse to Dingí; but they held Russúl in undiminished strength. Again Mackeson argued for a pivoting change of camp to Dingí: but this was almost sure to bring on an action necessarily indecisive from the positions and strength of the enemy, whilst it was open to all the serious objections before stated. Lord Gough therefore stood fast.

The enemy, aware that the reinforcements from Múltan must be rapidly approaching, were now anxious to bring Gough to battle; and, on the 11th February, they sought to induce him to quit his camp, and to bring on a general action. Their cavalry in some force advanced to Burra Omra, whilst their infantry guns formed a line in front of Khúri—their right resting on the strong hill ground, which was a prolongation of the Russúl position, their left refused, and the Khúri pass and road in their rear. At Russúl, the Sikh force formed in front of its entrenchments—the infantry and guns half way down the slopes of the range, and a strong advance of horse, foot, and guns fairly in the plain, and within about a mile of our nearest pickets and videttes. The Sikh plan was evidently to draw Gough out of his camp, and to bring on an action in the direction of Khúri—the Russúl force taking the opportunity of falling upon his flank and rear, as soon as he was well compromised. The army was under arms, and a cavalry detachment properly supported was thrown out in the direction of Burra Omra to watch the Sikh horse. The skirmishers of the cavalry were for some time engaged, but nothing further ensued; as the Sikhs, when they found that, if they would bring the British General to action, they must attack him, withdrew to their original positions for the day. During the night, they threw up the Russúl line of entrenchments, retiring that part of their force on Púran, and thus, brought both wings of their army upon the same line of road, and in close communication with each other. On the 13th,

the enemy closed up their columns. At Khúri all was quiet during the day; but at mid-night the army marched: and, on the 14th February, it became known to the British General that the Sikhs had gained a march, and were on the road to Gúzerat.

This movement had been anticipated, and, with a view to the speedy termination of the war, was the most desirable course that Shere Sing could adopt. But, instead of the 14th being lost in indecision and a sort of extemporised council, it should have found Gough prepared to make a corresponding movement, with the view of securing his own objects, and hindering those of the enemy. The troops were ordered to strike camp about 11 A. M., but the march was counter-ordered at one o'clock. Gough, however, sent orders to Whish to push up a detachment of troops to Wuzírabad along the left bank of the Chenáb, so as to check any attempt at the passage of the river. On the 15th the army moved to Lusúrí, a position which secured a junction with Whish's force, and was near enough to the Sikh army to paralyze any attempt on its part to commence the passage of the Chenáb. Whish had judiciously anticipated the orders he received, and had pushed up to the neighbourhood of Wuzírabad a force of foot, horse, and guns under Colonel Byrne. This body prevented Shere Sing's placing himself *à cheval* on the Chenáb; whilst the proximity of the mass of the British army rendered a serious attempt to force a passage too dangerous and problematical an operation to be attempted.

The state of affairs was now delicate; for the 16th, a march had been ordered, and subsequently counter-ordered. Indecision for a time prevailed. Mackeson was for marching to Kúngah, a place within about five miles of the Sikh position: but a junction with Whish's reinforcements had not been actually effected; and it was so evidently the game of the enemy to bring Gough to action before he was reinforced, and the opportunity would have been so favourable after the troops had made a fifteen-mile march, that a battle was sure to follow. To have waited patiently a month and upwards for reinforcements, and then to have suffered himself to be brought to action without them, when a single day would suffice to bring up the advance of Whish's troops, would have been fatal to Gough's reputation as a General: and, if the action under such circumstances had proved indecisive, the wrath of England would justly have overwhelmed him with disgrace. An advance to Saidúlapur was free from the risk of collision with the enemy. At the same time that it must attract his attention, paralyze his movements,

and force him to prepare for attack, it gave time for the reinforcements to come up, secured everything, and endangered nothing. Gough accordingly decided on the march to Saidúlápúr. On the 17th he made another short march towards the enemy, halting with his right on Golí and his left behind Isharah. He had the satisfaction of being joined by a part of his reinforcements: but Dundas was behind, preferring to march according to his own opinion of what was necessary, rather than attend to Whish's instructions; and therefore, he was written to peremptorily. His delay was injudicious and dreadfully inopportune. On the 18th the army made another short march, and halted its left on Kúngañ. On the 19th, the army halted to allow Dundas to join, and Markham to cross the river at Gurré-ka-Putun; and, on the 20th, another short march to Shadíwala, in battle order, brought the two armies face to face, with but a small interval to be traversed, before closing for the contest that was to decide the fate of the Punjáb. The Sikhs had, since the 16th, been kept in continual alarm and in daily apprehension of an attack; and, having chosen their position, had repeatedly been drawn out in battle array, anticipating a more precipitate advance, and to be earlier assailed. But Gough, acting prudently, had determined to risk as little as possible: and knowing, how much depended on the battle about to be delivered being a decisive one, he resolved to fight with well-rested troops and a long day before him.

Considering how long the country had been in our hands; that Gúzerat is a place of great resort; that officers and detachments had repeatedly been there—the ignorance of the ground, under which the Commander-in-Chief laboured, was truly remarkable. It proved how few men traverse a country with a military eye. Upon the little that was ascertained of the Sikh position, Gough formed his plan of attack.

When expecting an attack on the previous day, the Sikhs had drawn out their army, with its right, and right centre covered by the Dwara, a dry, sandy-bedded nullah of some breadth, which, after passing to the west of Gúzerat, took a bend to eastward before striking off south to Hariwala and Shadíwala. The Sikh centre occupied the villages of Kabra; and their left rested on the Katelah. They were supposed to refuse their right, which was thrown back nearly at right angles to their front, following the course of the Dwara, so that their left and centre, covered by the villages, was offered to the British. It was known that the Dwara, which bisected the British line, was no where at the time any real obstacle either to men or guns; though of course it might be very useful to the Sikhs

in affording their infantry cover. Gough, therefore, determined to attack their left and centre, and to thrust them back upon their right. With this purpose in view, the British army was to advance with the heavy artillery in the centre, Gilbert and Whish's divisions forming the right wing, which, as that expected to bear the brunt of the action, was supported by the greater portion of the field artillery. The left wing, composed of Campbell's division, Dundas's brigade, and a smaller proportion of field artillery, was expected to come into play later than the right wing, and was intended to complete the destruction and dispersion of the enemy's masses, when the Sikh left and centre should have been doubled upon its right. The Dwara, up to the enemy's position, was to be the regulator of the advance of the British line—the right and left wings being ordered, with their respective left and right flanks, to skirt the banks of the nullah, whilst the general alignment and the pace of advance was to be governed by the progress of Shakespear's elephant-drawn eighteen-pounders, a fine mark on that open-plain, and therefore a good "squadron of direction" to the British line of battle.

The morning of the 21st of February was clear and bright; and, as the enemy's masses had very early taken up their positions, there was no dust of moving columns to cloud the purity of the air and sky. The snowy ranges of the Himalayah, forming a truly magnificent back-ground to Gúzerat, and the village-dotted plain, seemed on that beautiful morning to have drawn nearer, as if like a calm spectator, to gaze on the military spectacle. A looker-on might have thought the army drawn out on some gala occasion; for, the baggage being packed in safety at Shadiwaia, the force moved free of incumbrance, and the whole had the appearance of a grand review.

In the order we have mentioned, his flanks supported by cavalry and horse artillery, and reserve brigades to each wing of his army, Gough marched at seven in the morning, and advanced until his centre reached Hariwala, a village on the Dwara. His right wing had now in its front, at a distance of upwards of two thousand yards, the Sikh left and centre, and the villages of Kabra, which they held in force. The Sikh artillery opened an innocuous fire; and our heavy artillery, taking up ground, began to respond, whilst the right wing deployed into line. The distance was however too great; and the cannonade, beyond making a noise and burning powder, was ineffective on either side; so that our heavy guns had again to move, and assumed a more advanced, but still too distant, position. The field artillery threw themselves daringly to the front, and

made their fire tell well upon the enemy's line: but the most forward of our batteries went through a sharp ordeal, the enemy's guns being neither few nor slow to answer our gallant gunners. Meanwhile, the left wing, advancing gradually, so as to keep pace and alignment with the right wing, as the latter moved forward under cover of the artillery, remained in columns at deploying distance, and paid no respect to the ineffective fire of the Sikh artillery in its front. When, however, the columns had passed the villages of Jumna and Júpúr, which the Sikhs had neglected to occupy, the enemy's shot, from pieces about twelve hundred yards distant, ranged up fair and free; and, threatening mischief, Campbell deployed, and, moving up his line to within about a thousand yards of the Sikh artillery, made his infantry lie down; whilst Mouat's guns, trotting rapidly forward before the Sikh gunners got the range, unlimbered, and, at a distance of about eight hundred yards, opened a very effective fire on the battery opposed to him, and on the Sikh infantry supporting it.

Along the whole British line, except on the extreme left, the British artillery was now pouring shot and shell with rapidity and precision upon the Sikh batteries and masses; and the latter, unable to face the pitiless storm, began to yield ground. The centre and left of the Sikhs withdrew behind the line of the Kabra villages, still however holding these in force, for they afforded good cover; their right, having lined the bend of the Dwara in front of their guns with infantry, covered by the right bank from Mouat's shot, retired a few hundred yards, but in perfect order, and again fronted. In proportion as Mouat's fire told, Campbell pushed forward his guns, and advanced his division, making the line lie down when it halted. At length, the Sikh fire in front being greatly subdued, two of the British guns were enabled to take up a position, such that they could sweep the bend of the Dwara, which they strewed with killed and wounded. This cleared the nullah rapidly of the Sikh infantry: and Campbell, with very trifling loss, by good management of the guns under his command, occupied the position, from which he had forced his opponents to retire, without firing a musket-shot.

Meanwhile, the right wing had had sharp fighting in carrying the villages of Kabra. They were stormed with great gallantry, but with heavy loss to the 2nd European, and to the 31st Native Infantry, and with considerable loss to H. M. 10th, and to the 8th and 52nd Native Infantry. Had Shakespear been permitted to expend a few minutes' attention



and a few rounds upon Burra Kabra and its supporting batteries, the loss would have been less, or altogether avoided.

When the right wing had carried the Kabra line of villages, and the left wing had forced the Sikhs from the Dwara, the enemy, though he had fallen back, seemed at one time disposed again to advance. However dastardly the conduct of the chief sirdars, the subordinate commanders had stout hearts; and they could be seen actively reforming their infantry lines and encouraging their men. As the organization of their corps was not shaken by what they had suffered, and they were in good order, there was a prospect of sharp fighting in forcing the sullen mass from the strong environs of Gúzerat, even if their commanders failed to induce them to advance. Campbell and Dundas, however, taking up the line of the Dwara, had thrown themselves across the right flank of the Sikhs; whilst Thackwell, who in the early part of the action had punished an insolent demonstration of the Affghan cavalry by the gallant charge of the Scinde horse, and had pushed back the Sikh cavalry by the show of his own, now passing well a-head and to flank of Dundas's extreme left, threatened very dangerously the right and rear of the enemy, and was in a position to interpose his squadrons, and preclude the possibility of retreat by the direct road on the Jhelum,—that by which the Affghan horse had fled precipitately. The right wing, leaving the heavy guns in their last position, had, in the course of its advance, almost necessarily thrown up its touch with the Dwara; and for some time there was a very awkward gap in the centre of Gough's line. The Sikh commanders, opposed to Campbell, were quick to perceive this; and, finding themselves pressed and turned on their right, apparently thought that the gap might afford the chance of recovering the fortune of the day. They accordingly formed a body of infantry and cavalry opposite to and pointing at the gap, and even advanced, as if resolved boldly to break in upon the weakened centre of the British line of battle and disconnect its wings. Two troops of horse artillery were now brought up, and partly occupied the endangered centre; but their shot and shell had been expended, and they had to await the arrival of communication from the rear. The Sikhs, judging from the silence of these batteries that something was wrong, and seeing that the opening was very partially occupied, were evidently serious in their intentions of an advance of horse and foot upon the empty interval and silent batteries, when Campbell, becoming aware of the threatened movement, turned part of his artillery upon the mass. The latter, finding that its

advance must be performed under a flank fire from these pieces, and that Campbell would be able to throw himself upon them as they advanced, desisted, and, covered by cavalry, commenced an orderly retreat. Indeed it was high time that they should; for our right wing was advancing rapidly, and the Sikh left and centre were retiring fast, in heavy columns covered by cavalry, over the open country, passing to the east of Gúzerat; their right, completely turned by Campbell and Dundas, and driven in upon the camp and centre, was forced to withdraw from the field by the same side of Gúzerat as the other masses; and the whole, being headed off the direct road on the Jhelum by Thackwell's advance with his cavalry, were driven to the northward. By one o'clock in the afternoon, Gough had overthrown the Sikh army, and had crowded it in heavy masses upon a line of retreat, which offered no hope of support, provision, or escape for the disheartened soldiery, if properly followed up. By two o'clock, Gough's infantry was in position to the north of Gúzerat, and the cavalry and horse artillery left to pursue the retreating foe.

Gough, very superior to the Sikhs, not only in weight of metal and in number of guns, but also in the skill of his artillery-men, made great use of this effective and terror-striking arm, and won his crowning victory mainly through its instrumentality. The battle was in fact a combat of artillery. Gough also had the merit on this occasion of not only forming a good plan of attack, but, an unusual circumstance with him, of adhering to it. We have already shown that all his movements prior to the battle were cautious and judicious—and that too, in spite of advice, which at one time nearly prevailed with him, and would, had he followed it, most probably have been the ruin of his reputation as a commander.

On the field, errors of detail were committed, the most important of which was that our artillery, when it first opened its fire, did so at too great a distance, and therefore it was remarkably ineffective as to numbers slain, though completely effective in daunting the courage of the enemy.

Our author is wrong in stating that the chief objects of the enemy at Gúzerat were to turn our right flank and penetrate to the guns. The Sikh cavalry out-numbered and out-flanked our horse at both extremities of the British line; and at both they made a show of turning our flanks and attacking. On the left, Thackwell dealt with this demonstration, as it deserved; he charged with the nearest squadrons (the Scinde horse, supported by the squadrons, and the 9th Lancers), and made the enemy more respectful.

Lord Gough made a mistake, when he recalled the cavalry, and prevented Thackwell from carrying out his intention of bivouacking on the ground and continuing the pursuit in the morning. The horse artillery, after a night's rest, would have been perfectly able to move in support of the cavalry; and the infantry ought, part by the direct route on the Jhelum, and part in support of the cavalry, to have been under arms and in full march before day-break of the 22nd. Gough was too slow in his proceedings after the victory: but to insinuate that this arose from such motives, as are implied by Mr. Thackwell's work, and that Gough sacrificed the interests of his Government to a personal bias in favour of Gilbert, in order that the latter might have an opportunity of becoming a K. C. B., is equally ridiculous and despicable. Gough had no wish to prolong the war, if he could avoid it: and the escape of the enemy's masses to the right bank of the Jhelum might have prolonged the war for another year. If open to be actuated by petty personal motives, the publicly-discussed and then anticipated appointment of his successor, Sir Charles Napier, under circumstances not complimentary to Gough's renown, was more likely to influence him than mere partiality for Gilbert, and to lead him to strain every nerve, that the campaign might be satisfactorily concluded, before Sir C. Napier could be sent to assume command. Willingly and of purpose, with the puerile object of making Gilbert a K. C. B., to prolong the contest, was to afford Sir C. Napier an opportunity of stepping in, finishing the war, and depriving Gough of much credit. The thought of such a contingency was not likely to be palatable to one so peculiarly jealous of all affecting his military fame, as Gough always showed himself.

Our author says that "Major Mackeson, the Governor-General's agent, controlled the movements of the chief; and it was he, who urged the advance of the British troops into the jungle at Chillian, as may be gleaned from Lord Gough's despatch." We have heard it affirmed on good authority that Mackeson was Lord Gough's own choice, as a political agent. As the agent of the Governor-General, as the person entrusted with the duty of obtaining intelligence without restriction as to expense, and as the person charged with political negotiations, Major Mackeson's advice was sure to have weight. But we have shown that, as a military adviser, Mackeson was neither a safe nor a judicious one; and that, if he wrung an unwilling assent from the Governor-General, and induced the Commander-in-chief to fight at Chillianwala, Lord Gough subsequently did not allow himself to be thus controlled, but rejected Mackeson's

pressing and reiterated suggestions, and followed better counsel. Mackeson, although a most gallant officer, was not qualified for an adviser on military operations, where the difficulties were many, the dangers great, and the position of the General delicate. He was well in place, in a pursuit like Gilbert's. There no nice discrimination between things of major and of minor importance was essential; energy and a firm adherence to instructions were the requisites. Associated with the resolute and active Gilbert, there was no chance of a slack pursuit; and the manner in which it was conducted was highly creditable to both. Gilbert's operations perfected the victory of Gúzerat: but, for that victory Gough was indebted to his neglect of Mackeson's advice—the latter failing to evince comprehensive views of Gough's position. The political shackles, in which our author states the Commander-in-chief to have been entangled, were entirely of Gough's own forging, if they existed: for Mackeson could have no other weight on military questions, except such as Lord Gough chose to concede to his arguments. That these were long-winded and pertinaciously obtruded was well known throughout the camp: but Mr. Thackwell is in error, if he thinks that Lord Gough was otherwise authoritatively controlled than by the Governor-General's views and policy.

When a country like England entrusts its armies, and, with those armies, the military renown of the nation, to a General, the people will never ask whether a Chillianwala was fought by the advice of a Mackeson: but, with great propriety, they hold the leader responsible for the use made of the armed thousands at his disposal. His fame and reputation are bound up with the fate of the troops he commands: his judgment, and his alone, must decide, under God, what that fate shall be: and it is ridiculous to suppose that the sound, practical common sense of the English nation will trouble itself to enquire whether a Mackeson, or even a Dalhousie, wrote this thing, or advised the other. It will always ask, What wrote the General? what measures did he take? and how he did act with reference to the circumstances in which he was placed? A Mackeson may give bad, and a Dalhousie may give ambiguous, advice; but all the world knows that the match cannot be lit, or the sword drawn, without the commander's word; and the British people are not of a character to endure that paltry excuses be palmed off upon them, with the view of shifting responsibility to other shoulders than those, which are bound to bear both the load and the honour. Our commanders should

know and feel this truth: for most assuredly they will experience, that no excuse is taken for great military errors; and that the allegation of advice, given by high civil or political functionaries, will be met with the smile of contempt. When once the sword is drawn, it is impossible to foresee the bearing of a political question on the condition and circumstances of the army in the field; and no British General should contract his views upon the subject of his own responsibility. He should, whether invested with political powers or not, make himself thoroughly conversant with all that either directly or indirectly can affect the operations entrusted to him; keeping the fact clearly in view, that England ignores any advice, as relieving its naval or military chiefs from their great, but honourable, responsibility.

We think it highly injudicious, except under peculiar circumstances, to separate, when operations on a great scale are undertaken, the political from the military power. When these powers are in distinct hands, their representatives will, inevitably, to the great detriment of the public service, clash. We therefore concur generally in the expediency of investing military commanders in the East, when properly qualified, with political power. We would however stipulate that they be not only able, but conscientious, leaders, morally and mentally fitted for their high trust—men not likely to be swayed by the Siren charms of ribbons, rank, honours, and prize-money. These things are well enough in their proper places; some of them are necessary, and others advisable to prevent greater evils; but, whilst protesting against a system, which may cramp and obstruct our military commanders, and has at times produced evil results and left deep scars upon our renown, we would still more strongly protest against either military or political power being entrusted to leaders of low moral tone and principle—men disqualified, not alone by mediocrity or absence of diplomatic and military talent, but also by a want of those higher qualities, which confer real dignity on the profession of arms. Wherever that terrible necessity, War, calls forth a British army, be it in the East or in the West, let us have men in command, imbued with a keen sense of the not yet exploded truth, that a nation's honour and character are based on the justice and consideration evinced in its bearing to friends and foes; and that conquest and victory, where international laws and rights are trampled upon, disgrace the transgressor, and frequently bring down on the offending nation the just, but terrible, retribution of Providence.

We had intended not to have dismissed the author of the work before us without a more detailed notice of his many errors, of his ignorance of native troops, and of the crudeness of assertions and opinions, which, apparently taken up at second-hand without a capacity in the recipient for investigation or inquiry, are misapplied strangely; but, in endeavouring to give a general sketch of the broader features of the eventful campaign, we have already out-run our limits. We leave therefore the personal prejudices, and the petty spirit of discontent at the distribution of honours and promotion, without further remark, than that the work derogates, by its tone of captious murmur, from the dignity of the profession, and is calculated to give the impression, that Mr. Thackwell's brethren in arms are inclined, in the service of their country, to think more of purely personal questions and individual distinctions, than of the performance, on high principle, of their duty—to convey the impression of a pervading low tone of thought and feeling amongst the officers of the British army. Mr. Thackwell may not have meant thus to impress his readers: but, notwithstanding much verbiage of the pseudo-Napierian style, stilted talk of glory, gallant Sabreurs, and the like, with very queer enlistment of would-be classical allusions, the effect of the work is incontrovertibly what we have represented: and, as such an impression is erroneous, it should be counteracted. We must therefore observe that, after sedulously decrying Lord Gough to the uttermost, both in his capacity as a commander in the field, and as the appreciator and rewarder of military merit; after taxing him with partiality, and implying questionable, if not dishonourable, motives to the aged chief; after seeking in every way to damage his reputation, and to give currency to opinions most unfavourable to Lord Gough, the endeavour to shelter himself, under cover of such a passage as the following, betrays on the part of the author a spirit, which we regret to find characterising the work of a British officer. We do not give the writer credit for any originality of thought, or for any depth or breadth of view, but we should pronounce him utterly deficient in common sense, were we to assume, that he could for a moment imagine that an author, after disseminating opinions and commenting favourably upon them, can screen himself by so transparent a subterfuge as the disavowal of being himself the originator of the opinions he takes up and puts forth to the world. The futile attempt is an insult to the good sense of his readers; an insult to that ingenuous truthfulness, which should be the aim of all writers

on historical events ; and, for an officer and a gentleman, an unworthy attempt to mask a hostile attack by the endeavour to charge the sentiments and feelings of the author upon an honourable body of men, few of whom, if we mistake them not, would be thus guilty of shrinking from the candid avowal of their opinions, and none of whom would be guilty of charging them on others. The passage, we allude to, is the following :—

“ It will be seen that no opinion has been pronounced in these pages on the policy pursued by His Excellency in these operations ; it has been my object merely to place on record the plain facts connected with the action, and the different opinions current in the camp respecting it. The letters, which appeared in the Indian newspapers during the progress of the campaign, containing animadversions on Lord Gough, were often based on false statements, and dictated by the most paltry malice. Men, who had been unsuccessful in their applications for staff appointments, vented their spite in elaborate articles, casting the most unwarrantable aspersions on the character of that illustrious soldier. Thus they were able to gratify their vindictive feelings without any fear of detection ; for the papers, to whom their dastardly libels were sent, did not previously insist on their authentication.

“ The injury, which Lord Gough sustained in this way, has been somewhat counter-balanced, however, by the glorious reception, with which he has been honoured in his native land. Such a reception was justly due ; for England has not sent forth a more successful General since the days of Wellington and Waterloo.”—*P.* 9.

If the writer of this passage was himself (as he was generally reputed to be) a frequent correspondent of the Indian press, upon which he reflects, and also was not distinguished for over-accuracy in his communications, our readers may perhaps feel amused at his effrontery, and will feel inclined to think well of the temper, both of the press, and of those whom he accuses. That ignorant and sometimes desponding letters were written, no one will deny ; but that disappointed hopes or vindictive feelings gave rise to these communications is a gross misrepresentation of the men in H. M. and in the E. I. C. army. We could wish that officers, whilst operations are proceeding, would be more guarded in what they write from camp, even when addressing friends and near relatives ; for the impressions of the moment, which would often be corrected a few hours after, getting abroad, often do much harm. We, how-

ever acquit this species of indiscretion of any such malevolent motive, as the author would clothe it with. The army considered Lord Gough no great genius of a commander ; and certainly none of his campaigns in India warranted a different conclusion. That he was a successful commander was always allowed ; but it had been experienced that his success, like that of other British Generals, was rather owing to the dauntless valour of the British infantry, than to any remarkable skill exhibited by Gough on the field. When, therefore, indecisive actions, accompanied by heavy loss, were fought, the opinions of the army naturally broke forth, and found vent through public and private channels. As soon, however, as that army found that its chief could act warily and wisely, and could fight a well-planned battle, it gave him credit for the display, on his last field and crowning victory, of more proficiency and skill, than he had hitherto ever shown : and it hailed with pleasure the triumph of the veteran, and the brilliant close of his military career in India. Personally, Lord Gough, from the urbanity of his manners and his kindness of heart and disposition, was always a favourite with the army : and, when he quitted India, there was but one feeling pervading the men and officers, who had fought for and won the Punjab—and that feeling was, that, if the Koh-i-Núr were honestly ours, the fittest man to lay it at the feet of Her Majesty was the one, who, after the sanguinary actions of Múdkí, Ferozeshuhur, Sobraon, and Chillianwala, finally overthrew the Sikh power on the plain of Gúzerat. The army felt that the jewel, if fairly ours (which many doubted) was only so, as the emblem of sternly-fought and dearly-purchased victories ; that the jewel, if any ornament to the British crown, could only be so, as symbolical of the valour of the troops, which added to the empire of India the country of the five rivers.

We must close with a protest, in the name of the known humanity of the men and officers of the British army, against a sentence, which implies the prevalence of conduct, wholly foreign to the feelings and the practice of a beneficent profession, the members of which ever proved themselves alike brave in danger, and merciful and attentive to *all*, who needed their aid. After praising Surgeon Wirgman, of H. M. 14th Dragoons, for having wounded Sikhs conveyed to his hospital and their wants supplied, the author proceeds to remark :—“ This conduct should be placed on record, because mercy was ‘ a rare quality in those times.’ ”

We, on the contrary, assert, without fear of contradiction, that no such record was ever needed as an example ; that to say



that such a record was advisable, is an unfounded charge against the medical officers, who were zealous in alleviating the sufferings of war, whether friend or foe came under their hands, and with whom mercy, instead of a rare quality, was the exceptionless rule. The labours of a talented and devoted body of gentlemen ill deserve to be requited by such unmerited reflections; and the praise of Surgeon Wirgman, at the expense of his professional brethren, must be as little gratifying to him, as the author's injudicious advocacy and praise of others of his friends and acquaintances will indubitably prove to them.

War is a terrible, a hateful, necessity. The horror of its atrocities is only qualified by the rays of Christian mercy, which should break forth from Christian warriors. We are happy to know that British officers, at the hazard of their own lives, and in the very heat of conflict, sought to give and to obtain quarter for their infuriated enemies. Two officers were severely wounded by the men, they had saved, or sought to save. More honour-conferring wounds could not have been received. They were wounds taken in behalf of humanity and mercy, and proved that the chivalry of the British officer is of the right stamp. Mercy was no rare quality even amongst the combatants, where Sikhs would receive quarter: but in general they fought desperately and unyieldingly, and, as they had never given, seemed never to expect, quarter on a battle-field.

Not ourselves having the honour to belong to the faculty, we may be permitted, without a suspicion of favour or prejudice, flatly to disavow and contradict the allegation, that there was a want of mercy or attention to the wounded of the enemy. The medical officers were indefatigable; and their exertions were an honour to themselves and to their nation. Their conduct was throughout a noble tribute of respect to that Christian faith, which teaches and enforces sympathy, with an attention to the miseries of fellow-men—and that whether the sufferer be friend or foe.

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ART. II.—*General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, from 1st May, 1848, to 1st October, 1849. Calcutta. 1850.*

[THIS is a thick octavo volume, containing no fewer than 769 pages, of which thirty are occupied with the "Report of the Council of Education," 342 with "Special Reports of the Presidency Institutions," and of the "Mofussil Colleges and Schools;" and 397 with "Appendixes" of various sorts.] We might have liked the Report all the better had its bulk borne a somewhat less ratio to the amount of information that it contains, and had that information been arranged in a somewhat more methodical manner, so as to present us with a comprehensive view of the actual advancement, during the period to which the Report relates, of the work entrusted to the guardianship of the Council of Education. But, however less bland critics might condemn the Report on these grounds, we do not insist upon any right to find fault with it. We are glad that it contains *so much*, and that it is *so well* arranged. To the man who is about to engage in sartorial work, it is something, and no small thing either, to know that an instrument suited to his purpose lurks somewhere within the compass of a stack of hay; and it is far wiser policy for him to gird himself for the search, than to sigh over imaginations of the sharp and glittering ranks arranged with more than military precision in some tidy "housewife" which is not within his reach. And we doubt not that that "coming man," the future historian of India, when he wishes, as wish he doubtless will, to enquire into the state of education at the middle of the nineteenth century, will be thankful to the Council of Education for such information as they supply him withal; however his gratitude may be leavened with regret, that they have not had more information to give (which, indeed, is no fault of theirs) and that they have diffused the little information that they do give over so large a surface of paper—the which, if he be at all like-minded with us, he will be disposed to impute to them as a fault.

After all, the education of the people of India is a subject so vast and so momentous, that even little things, which bear upon it, acquire an increase of importance from their relation to it; and no one, who rightly appreciates the magnitude of the subject, will begrudge the labour necessary in order to the ascertainment, from the series of documents to which that before us belongs, of the gradual progress of that portion of the great work

which is under the patronage of the Government, and which is by the Government superintended through the agency of its Council of Education.

[We are persuaded that this work has made as much progress as could have been reasonably expected. To say nothing at present of the schools and institutions independent of Government support, we gather from the Reports of the different institutions under the direction of the Council, that they are giving education to about 4,500 scholars. This is but a small number as compared with the population of Bengal, which, estimated at 30,000,000, ought to give a school-going population of about 5,000,000, or 2,500,000 of either sex; but still it is a beginning, and, viewed in this light, is fraught with no little gratification to the well-wisher of this people.]

It is scarcely within the object of our present article to make any remarks upon the constitution of the Council of Education. The system of "Boards" and "Councils," especially if they consist, in whole or in main part, of unpaid, and consequently to a certain extent irresponsible, amateurs, is not specially popular at the present day; and we suspect its unpopularity is not without good grounds. Whether a "minister of public instruction" and a "secretary of state for the educational department" would not do the work more efficaciously than a body of men whose hands are full of other work, may be a question: but it is not the question that we are going to discuss at present. Thus much we will most willingly say, that the Government has been very fortunate in having had at its disposal, ever since the formation of the Council, the willing services of a succession of enthusiastic men, admirably qualified by tastes and talents to serve upon it. There have, we believe, been three Presidents of the Council from its formation; and better men for the purpose could not have been had, even, if we may use the expression, had they been "made to order." First there was Sir Edward Ryan, an elegant scholar, and a man of singular clearness of judgment, as we have heard, and thoroughly in earnest in this work, to which he devoted much of his time while he was here, and over which he still watches with much interest now that he is far away. He was succeeded by Mr. C. H. Cameron, whose preface to Bacon's *Novum Organum* is sufficient to indicate the intelligent interest he took in the welfare and progress of the students. And now the Council is presided over by Mr. J. E. D. Bethune, whose writings, published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, evince a mind of strong and sound philosophical tendencies; while his poetical translations from the Northern languages

shew that he is not a stranger to the amenities of literature. To speak in terms of commendation of the munificence displayed, and the exertions made, by this gentleman, in the cause of education, were to "gild refined gold." We trust it is not necessary for us at this time of day to say that we are not given to flattery; and, before we have done with the present article, the most virulent of Mr. Bethune's decriers shall acknowledge that we are not disposed to flatter *him*: but simple truth impels us to state, that very few men of his class have ever laid the people of India under such a weighty load of obligation. Others may have had the will, but they have lacked the power. Of the few that have had the power, it may be doubted if any have had the will, to the same extent that he has, to "spend and be spent" in the cause of native education.

[Looking at the list of the present Council, our eye lights upon two names, which ought to be specially mentioned in this connexion; and we are sure that the colleagues of Mr. John Grant and Dr. F. Mouat will be the last to think or feel that any injustice is done to themselves, when these two gentlemen are selected for such a distinction as our notice of them may be able to confer.] With a Council presided over by men like Sir Edward Ryan, Mr. Cameron, and Mr. Bethune—with such men amongst its members, as Mr. John Grant—and above all with a secretary like Dr. Mouat,—it were strange if a powerful impulse were not given to the work committed to its guardianship. And a powerful impulse has been given to it; as to the magnitude of whose resultant we bear willing testimony, while we shall ere long take occasion to speak of its direction.

[After detailing one or two changes, of no considerable importance, in the constitution of the Council, the Report proceeds to state that it has been resolved henceforth to employ professional and paid examiners in conducting the examinations for scholarships, and for employment in the public service. The examiners are to be selected "preferably from among the principals, professors and head-masters of the colleges and schools of greatest reputation in and near Calcutta (or those who have filled such situations), including both those, which are under the superintendence of the Council of Education, and those which are denominated private schools."] There can be little doubt that this is a great improvement; as it is scarcely possible for any but a practically experienced teacher to examine well,—scarcely possible for any but those, who are engaged in teaching the students who are to be examined, to know their progress sufficiently well to examine them effectually; and scarcely possible to get the requisite number of men

to devote to the examination the needful amount of time and labour without compensation.

But while we perceive that this is a step in the right direction, we cannot but think that there is something wanting in respect of a provision for the fair apportionment of the value of success in the several departments.] Each examiner is to assign the value to be attached to an answer to each of his questions; while a limit is put by the Council to the amount of value acquirable in the department. In other words, the Council place a certain number of marks at the disposal of each examiner, and leave him to apportion those marks as he pleases. Now it is evident that a man in one department, with his standard of expected qualification somewhat low, acting in conjunction with a man in another department, with his standard somewhat high, may produce much real, though altogether unintended, injustice. Let us illustrate this by an example. Take some questions from two separate departments. Selecting from the examination on "Literature Proper" for 1849, a few questions, which seem to be fair specimens of those put, we transcribe the following:—

5. *Benedick*.—But I hope you have no intention to turn husband.

*Claudio*.—I would scarce trust myself, though I had sworn to the contrary, if Hero would be my wife.

*Benedick*.—Is it come to this? Hath not the world one man, but *he will wear this cap with suspicion?* Go to i' faith; if thou wilt thrust thy head in a yoke, wear the print of it, and *sigh away Sundays*.

[It is to be observed, that in this and other cases, "where no distinct question is proposed, the passages, or words, marked in Italics, are to be fully explained."]

10. *Hero*.—No, truly, Ursula, she is too disdainful.  
I know her spirits are as coy and wild  
As haggards of the rock.

What are *haggards of the rock?*

Point out the aptness of the comparison.

12. *Verges*.—"Nay, that's certain; we have the exhibition to examine." Correct the blunder of the constable.

31. *Decius*.—Pardon me, Cæsar; for my dear, dear love  
To your proceeding bids me tell you thus;  
And reason to my love is liable.

44. Custom and laws compared.

"As Tacitus and Montesquieu happen to differ upon a subject of so much importance.....it will not be amiss to examine it a little more minutely."

State the respective views of Tacitus and Montesquieu. Which does the author support? Adduce any instance of your own in which the superiority of Custom might readily be conceded, and others in which Custom should be superseded by Law.

These will suffice as specimens of the questions in Literature. Let us now take a few specimens from the Mathematical and Physical departments.

5. Assuming the solution of  $x^3 + qx + r = 0$  of  $\left(\frac{r^2}{4}\right.$  being greater than  $\left.\frac{q^3}{27}\right)$ , explain fully which of these values are to be selected as the roots.

14. Assuming that the Conic Section,  $y^2 = \frac{2a \cdot \sin a \cdot \sin \theta}{\cos a} x - \frac{\sin \theta \sin (2a + \theta)}{\cos^2 a} x^2$  ( $2a$  being the vertical angle of the Cone), is an hyperbola: find its axis and the position of the asymptotes.

5. A ball is projected with a velocity of 50 feet, in a direction making an angle of  $45^\circ$  with the horizon, and strikes against a vertical wall, where its motion is wholly horizontal: determine the equation to the path afterwards described, and the position of the focus, the elasticity of the ball being  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

These specimens we have selected almost at random. Now we think it can scarcely be doubted that there are some of the latter class so difficult, and some of the former class so easy, that it must be all but impossible to assign proportionate values to the solutions of them.] If, for example, the last question were fully solved, taking into account the resistance of the atmosphere, (and, we suppose that nothing is said about this in the question itself, in order that such of the candidates as can solve it with this element taken into account, may have the option of doing so), and if a moderate value were assigned to such a solution, we should imagine that it would scarcely be possible to find a value small enough to be attached to the best possible answer to several of the questions in the other department. It does seem to us, therefore, that the value of the questions should be assigned either by the votes of the body of examiners, or else by some one individual, apart from that body altogether, appointed for this purpose. A man of less varied attainments than the admirable Crichton might discharge this duty well enough: and it does not seem to us that this duty can be dispensed with, and justice done to the students examined.

[We now come to notice a correspondence between the Honorable Court of Directors and the Council, on the subject of Lord Hardinge's celebrated Education Minute; and also a correspondence between the council and certain proprietors or superintendents of various educational establishments not connected with Government. The Court object partly, as it appears to us, to the principle of the minute itself, and partly to the way in which it is applied by the Council, to whom its

working out is committed. The superintendents of the private schools object only to the working, without expressing any opinion as to the principle of the minute. We shall follow the example of the Council by giving the despatch of the Honorable Court entire, "a knowledge of its contents being essential (as they tell us) to the right understanding of the report of the Council upon the matters referred to in it"—and consequently essential to the right understanding of the remarks, that we are about to make on that report.

1. Your public Letter of the 21st of May, No. 17 of 1845, informs us that you have intimated to the Council of Education your assent to their proposal, that all persons, whose names are inserted in the list of those qualified for the service of Government, shall have passed, satisfactorily, an examination similar to that which entitles a student to a senior scholarship at the Calcutta and Hooghly English Colleges. This rule requires a critical acquaintance with the works of Bacon, Johnson, Milton and Shakespear, a knowledge of ancient and modern history, and of the higher branches of mathematical science, some insight into the elements of natural history, and the principles of moral philosophy and political economy, together with considerable facility of composition, and the power of writing in fluent and idiomatic language an impromptu essay on any given subject of history, moral or political economy.

2. It appears to us that the standard can only be attained by the students in the Government Colleges; and that therefore it virtually gives to them a monopoly of public patronage.

3. We are also of opinion that this high test, instead of promoting, will in effect discourage the general acquisition of the English language. Those who cannot hope to pass this test, will not think it worth their while to bestow any time upon learning the English language, at least with a view to employment in the public service.

4. Nor are we disposed to regard a high degree of scholastic knowledge [as] constituting an essential qualification for the public service. To require only a moderate and practical knowledge of English, with a thorough command of the vernacular language, and testimonials of regularity, steadiness, diligence and good conduct, will be, in our opinion, the best way to obtain the largest number of candidates, competent to become useful Officers in the different ranks of the Revenue and Judicial Departments: though we do not deny that there may be some few appointments, which it may be desirable to bestow as the rewards of greater proficiency in the higher branches of literature.

5. But we would not insist throughout all India on even a moderate acquaintance with the English language. Where, from local circumstances, the persons, whom it would be most desirable to employ, are found deficient in that knowledge, we would not, on that account, peremptorily exclude them from employment, though, other qualifications being equal, or nearly so, we would allow a knowledge of the English language to give a claim to preference.

6. We are further inclined to doubt the expediency of subjecting all candidates to public examinations held at the Presidency. It is not probable that young men from Behar or Cuttack will come to Calcutta, merely that they may be recorded as fit for official employment, without any assurance that they will ever be so employed. The same objection applies to the registration fee required from all candidates for examination. It will be felt

as an unjust exaction by those who derive no eventual benefit from showing themselves equal to the prescribed test; and the examination being for the benefit of the public, the cost of it, if incurred at all, should be defrayed at the public expense.

To this remonstrance on the part of the Court of Directors, the Council of Education reply in substance as follows: *First.* That the great object the Council have had in view "is not immediately the improvement of the native civil servants.....but rather the general improvement of the great body of the people, by the increased value which the universal desire of such employment must give, in their estimation, to the training, by which they hope to see their children placed in a favourable position for gaining it." *Second.* That the orientalist have no right to complain; that sufficient facilities are afforded to all who seek a learned Oriental education: but that it would be a virtual departing from all the good that has been achieved for many years, were the principle departed from, "that English should be offered to the youth of India, as their classical language; and that proficiency in it should be deemed the indispensable characteristic of a liberal education."\* *Third.* That for those offices, in which a knowledge of Sanscrit or Arabic is requisite, it is surely right to select, from amongst those candidates possessed of the proper Oriental qualification, the one who possesses the additional qualification ascertained by the Council's test. *Fourth.* That the Council are not unaware of the importance of giving an increased importance to *Vernacular* studies in combination with English.

Upon these answers we shall offer a few observations.

*First.*—In order to judge of the value of this answer, we must view it in connexion with the minute of Lord Hardinge, which is the originator of the whole matter, the very charter under

\* This answer has reference to the following paragraph in a different despatch from that which we have quoted:—

"But there is one objection to the proposed standard, to which you have not adverted—its being almost exclusively English, and consequently debarring the students of the Native Colleges, Hindús and Mohamedans, from all chance of a place among the candidates for the patronage of the Government Offices. Even where these students may add a knowledge of English to their acquirements in the languages, literature and laws of their country, it cannot be expected that they should attain the same proficiency, as those young men who have devoted the whole of their time to the study of English, and consequently they cannot pass such an examination as will alone entitle them to have their names inserted in the list of competent individuals, although in many respects, they may be much fitter for the duties of the public service than the mere English scholar, however high his attainments. We are therefore of opinion, that, in order to meet this difficulty, an equivalent standard should be decided on to test the acquirements of this class of students, and that distinction, founded on the extent and amount of their attainments in such branches of study as shall be included under such standard, combined with but a moderate practical knowledge of English, shall entitle them to a place in the lists of qualified candidates for public employment."



which the Council of Education act in their capacity of selectors of fit candidates for Government employment.] The first paragraph of that minute is as follows :—

The Governor-General, having taken into his consideration the existing state of Education in Bengal, and being of opinion that it is highly desirable to afford it every reasonable encouragement, by holding out to those who have taken advantage of the opportunity of instruction afforded to them, a fair prospect of employment in the public service ; and thereby not only to reward individual merit, but to enable the State to profit as largely and as early as possible, by the result of the measures adopted of late years for the instruction of the people, as well by the Government, as by private individuals and Societies, has resolved, that in every possible case, a preference shall be given, in the selection of candidates for public employment, to those who have been educated in the Institutions thus established, and especially to those who have distinguished themselves therein by a more than ordinary degree of merit and attainment.

Now, [to our thinking, the great object held out here is to “ enable the State to profit as largely and as early as possible by the result of the measures adopted of late years for the instruction of the people, as well by the Government, as by private individuals and Societies ;” while the encouragement of education among the mass of the people, and the reward of individual merit, are regarded mainly as subsidiary objects conducive to this end.] But we do not care much about ascertaining the comparative prominence to be assigned to these objects. They must go hand in hand. It is of very little consequence whether it be stated that Lord Hardinge’s object was to benefit the State by putting the best scholars into good appointments, or to produce good scholars by offering good appointments to such as are produced. Take it as we will, we cannot see how the Council’s averment can be regarded as a satisfactory answer to the Court’s objection. The Council have proposed a test, which the Court deems too stringent—so much so that they are “ of opinion, that this high test, instead of promoting, will in effect discourage, the general acquisition of the English language.” This opinion the Council either leave untouched, or they suppose that they touch it, in the answer of which we have given the substance. In point of fact the result of the proceedings of the Council, *if they had had any result at all*, would have been precisely what the Court point out. But they have had no result, as we shall shew ere long, unless the nullifying and making a dead letter of that document under which the proceedings have been adopted—a document which was regarded by many, and ourselves among the number, at the time of its promulgation, as a very valuable one, and which might have proved so under a different system of application—may be properly called a result.

*Second.*—As to the preference given by the Council to Eng-

lish over Oriental acquirements, we have no special quarrel with them, as we cordially agree in the opinion that vastly greater good will be achieved by countenancing and encouraging the former than the latter. But yet, taking Lord Hardinge's minute for our guide, and considering that the remit made to the Council was virtually to expiscate "all the talents," we think they might have devised means to give a fair value to Orientalism. In fact the Council seem to have forgotten that their functions in this matter are purely executive. His Lordship finished the legislative part of the work, when he issued his minute. All that they had to do was to obey the orders addressed to them; without any reference whatever to their individual opinion respecting the superiority of one branch of study to another.

*Third.*—We cannot but regard this as a piece of special pleading. We quite believe that for situations requiring Orientalism, it would be well, if the best qualified by Oriental acquirements were also qualified by English ones, to appoint him. But it is absolutely certain that no one can get upon the Council's list, who has any Oriental acquirements at all; for it is a moral impossibility for any one to get upon that list, who has not bestowed his whole time upon the studies prescribed for examination; and, unless Orientalism has come to him by inspiration, it is impossible that he can have even an infinitesimally small amount of it.

*Fourth.*—We are very glad to hear that the Council are henceforth to countenance the study of the Vernacular languages of India. It will require all the *prestige*, that their countenance can afford, to counteract that indifference to the study of these languages, that has been unfortunately manifested by the great majority of students in all the Institutions, in which English has been made the staple language. Now, while we are perfectly willing to battle against all comers in the cause of English-and-Vernaculars, against Orientalism-and-Vernaculars, we have not a word to say in the cause of English as against Vernaculars.

While we cannot but express our opinion that the objections of the Court of Directors are left virtually unanswered, we confess to a kind of admiration (considering the relative position of the parties) of the cool *insouciance*, with which the Council express their determination to proceed in their own way. No matter, that the Council owe their existence to the Court of Directors; no matter that they are appointed to do a certain work which the Court desires to have done;—it pleases them to do another work altogether; and the lan-

guage of their president (for we may safely assume that it is the president that is the organ of the Council on this occasion), is set to the tune of "*Sic volo, sic jubeo ; stet pro ratione voluntas.*"

Such being the state of the case, as between the Council of Education and the Court of Directors, we come now to a consideration of the case, as between the Council and the educationists, who are unconnected with the Government, or, to speak more strictly, between the Council and the students of the extra-government educational Institutions. Lord Hardinge's minute most distinctly prescribed; that the students of all institutions whatsoever should be placed on an equal footing. And this was both wise and just. It was wise, as tending to secure for the Government the benefit of a large amount of talent to be employed in its service. It was just, because any other plan would only amount to a decree that those, who had sought and received no aid from the Government in acquiring their education, should be debarred from holding offices of trust and emolument, in order that these might be kept open for the benefit of those, who, to a greater or less extent, had already received a boon at the hand of the Government. Nothing could be clearer than the minute of His Lordship;—and this the Council of Education at first admitted; for, when they first published their mode of carrying the minute into effect, they accompanied it with an apology for not having been able, on account of the shortness of time allowed them, to mature a plan by which full justice might be done to the students of private schools—(so we shall call them, for brevity's sake, although of course they are just as public as the others, in every respect, except their independence of Government support and Government control.) They therefore recommended that the students of those institutions should not present themselves for examination that year, but should hold back until such arrangement could be made as would put them on equal terms with their competitors from the Government Institutions. The students, and their friends and teachers, were fain to accept this apology, in the confident hope, that all that was wrong should next year be rectified. But when next year came, it was ascertained that hope had told a falsely flattering tale. There was no perceptible change in the arrangements, excepting that the apology and implied promise of improvement were cancelled. This state of things went on for a few years. Murmurs were uttered, "not loud but deep;" and these murmurs, having by some means reached the ears of the members of Government—on the 24th of March, 1847, Sir T. H. Maddock,

then Deputy Governor of Bengal, spoke as follows in the Town Hall of Calcutta :—

“ I have been given to understand, that some dissatisfaction is manifested by the managers of schools not under the control of the Council of Education, at the manner in which the resolution of the Governor-General, of October 1844, is carried into effect, with respect to the test to which candidates are subjected, before they can be ranked in the Council's list of meritorious students. I am not aware how the Council can dispense with one common test of qualification, or be expected to adopt, without further examination, the credentials furnished to students of private schools by their superintendents. Such is not the practice in Europe, when students of various schools are candidates for University honours, but all are subjected to one and the same ordeal. I will, however, communicate on this subject with the Council of Education ; and I shall be happy, if it is found possible to modify the existing rules, so as to obviate these objections, without compromising a principle on which depends our security, that the best qualified students are alone admitted on the list of qualified candidates for public employ. The object of the Government is to secure for its use the services of the most distinguished talents. It is not its object to patronize one institution in preference to another. The ablest man, wherever educated, is he who should stand first on the list of candidates for public employment.”

We may notice in passing, that this speech, which we extract from the report under review, seems to us to bear out the view that we have taken, as to the main object of the plan of examination, in opposition to the view taken of it by the President of the Council in his answer to the remonstrance of the Court of Directors. But this, as we have already stated in substance, is not a point that appears to us to be of any considerable moment ; inasmuch as the object of diffusing a taste for education, by rewarding with Government employment those who are best educated, and the object of obtaining for Government employment the best educated individuals, must be secured in concert. They must stand or fall together. Only it is not unimportant to notice, that the view we have taken of the matter, is not only that of the Court of Directors, but that also of Sir Herbert Maddock, who had the best possible opportunity of being acquainted with the intentions of Lord Hardinge and of the members of his Council.

“ In accordance with the suggestions of the Honorable the Deputy Governor of Bengal, the Council placed themselves in communication with the proprietors of private schools, acquainting them with His Honor's sentiments, and requesting them to

specify the exact nature and extent of their objections to the existing system of examination, as well as to favor the Council with the modification they would propose, to render them acceptable to all persons unconnected with the Government institutions."

It appears that answers to the Council's circular were received from the proprietor of one native pay school, one private boarding school, the secretary of one public endowed school (the Martinière), and also from the chairman of a meeting, composed of representatives of all the Missionary institutions in Calcutta and of the Parental Academy.

The resolutions of this meeting are given at length in the report before us; and we agree with the Council in thinking that the objections to the system can scarcely be put in a clearer light, than that in which they put them. We therefore transfer them to our pages, giving the Council the benefit of admitting that there is an apparent oversight in the resolutions, in representing the Government scheme of education as comprising only English secular literature and science, and in omitting all mention of the Vernacular languages. The explanation of this apparent oversight is easy. The resolutions have reference to the points of difference between the Government scheme of education and that adopted in the institutions represented, in so far as those points of difference bear upon the question at issue. Now there is probably no material difference between the Vernacular education in the two classes of institutions; and so much as there is, does not bear at all upon the matter in dispute. The Vernacular test appointed by the Council is merely the composition of a Bengali Essay; and this has not, we believe, been objected to by any party. With this explanation we subjoin the resolutions:—

I. Resolved unanimously that, without entering into any debate as to what constitutes the best, or even an essentially good, course of education, this meeting find, in point of fact, that there are now three distinct courses of improved education in operation among us, viz. :—

*First.* The exclusively secular course, pursued alike in Government and many purely native Institutions, which includes merely English secular literature and science, though in the widest and most extended sense.

*Second.* The ordinary European course, formed after the home European model, and pursued in several Christian Institutions, such as the Parental Academy and St. Paul's School, which, besides English secular literature and science, includes largely the study of ancient classical literature, in conjunction with a considerable range of Christian literature.

*Third.* The mixed course, pursued in all the existing Christian Institutions for native youth, in which a range of English literature and science, more or less comprehensive, is inseparably conjoined with a more or less extensive course of Christian literature.

II. That, from the preceding statement, the nature of the leading objection to the standard of scholarship, at present adopted in conducting the

examination of Native candidates for Government employ, must at once be apparent, viz., that it is framed exclusively upon the model of the first of the above-mentioned courses, and fitted exclusively to test the proficiency of young men who have been instructed according to its provisions and details;—ancient classical literature having no adequate or proportional value attached to it in the test, and Christian literature, properly so called, being well-nigh excluded altogether.

That in this way young men, educated under either of the two latter more extended courses, are wholly prevented from competing on equal terms with young men, whose whole time, strength, and energy are devoted to the more limited range of mere English secular literature and science, on a knowledge of which alone the candidates are examined.

III. That no mere modification of a test, which restricts itself mainly, if not exclusively, to English secular literature and science, can possibly obviate or remove the foregoing objection : and that in order to adapt itself to other Institutions, in which ancient classical literature, or English Christian literature, may be largely taught, it must needs undergo an organic alteration or enlargement.

IV. That the meeting agree to forward to the Secretary of the Council of Education a copy of this minute of proceedings, and leave it to the consideration of Government to make any further proposals, or ask for any further information on the subject, as it may deem proper ; and finally that the Chairman be requested to forward the minute, accompanying the same with any remarks on his own individual responsibility, which, by way of explanation, he may consider desirable.

These resolutions were forwarded to the Council by Dr. Duff, the chairman of the meeting at which they were passed, accompanied by a statement by Dr. Duff himself, explaining in detail the objections contained in the resolutions. Of this statement, the Council, or let us say at once the President of the Council, has given us an abstract ; and, before entering upon the consideration of the resolutions and the statement, we must record our decided protest against this mode of proceeding. Without assuming that the abstract is unfairly made, we must insist that injustice must necessarily be done to Dr. Duff, by presenting his reasoning in detached sentences and parts of sentences, selected from the document by one, whose object is professedly to answer that reasoning. It will not do to say that the communication was too long for insertion in the report. Suppose it had occupied 20 or 30 pages (and we do not believe it would have occupied a half of the smaller of these numbers), it was just as easy to publish a report of 789 or 799 pages, as one of 769 ; or, if the Council were restricted in regard to the number of pages, it would not have been any great loss to the public, if they had made room for Dr. Duff's letter by the retrenchment of a considerable amount of matter that is inserted. Had Mr. Bethune chosen to give Dr. Duff's letter at length, we should have been perfectly willing, and so, we are sure, would Dr. Duff himself, that he should have commented upon it as strenuously as he possibly could : but, that letter being

withheld, we cannot but regard many of the remarks that he makes upon it as downright slander. It is one thing to review a book, which is before the world, and another thing altogether to review a document, which is accessible to none but the reviewer. Had the report been given to the world, before Dr. Duff left India, the case might not have been quite so bad; as it is, we cannot conceive how a word of vindication can be uttered on behalf of the Council. This however we can tell Mr. Bethune, that he has altogether outwitted himself. Dr. Duff is too well known in India for people to take in the charge of stupidity which Mr. Bethune again and again virtually brings against him; while he withholds the grounds on which he bases so preposterous a charge.

In what we have to say further on this subject, it may tend somewhat to distinctness if we confine our observations to a notice of the way in which the pupils of the Missionary institutions are affected by the procedure of the Council. All that we have to say on this point, will be applicable, with a few unimportant modifications, to such establishments as the Martinière, the Parental Academy, and St. Paul's School; while the important class of private pay schools for native boys being conducted, as nearly as possible, on the principles of the Government institutions, it is probable that no particular injustice is done to their students.

First of all then, we think that intelligent and well-informed public opinion will bear us out in the assertion, that it may be confidently expected that the students of the Missionary institutions are quite as well educated as those of the Government institutions. We have no wish to institute comparisons between individual men; but we believe that all, who know any thing about the matter, will admit that the superintendents of the Missionary institutions are not inferior, as a body, in all the qualifications of scholarship and teachership, to the professors in the Government Colleges. But they have precisely the same materials to work upon that these professors have; and therefore it may be taken for granted that their students are not worse educated. Now then, the duty of the Council of Education being to select from the students of all institutions those qualified by talents and acquirements for the service of Government, and it being notorious that they have not in point of fact selected any one student from any of the Missionary institutions, it will follow, either that they have not done their duty, or that their efforts have been frustrated by the counter-acting efforts of the superintendents of the Missionary institutions. Which of these conclusions is the right one? The Council say that it is the latter. "There can be no doubt that

it is extremely desirable that, if possible, the conductors of private schools should be induced to allow their pupils to compete at the public examinations;—the Council use this expression advisedly, being of opinion, that the reluctance against their appearance there is more strongly felt by the masters than the scholars of these institutions.” Now, while we do not suppose that the superintendents of the Missionary institutions assume any right of *allowing* or *disallowing* the appearance of their pupils at the Council's examination, we are willing enough to admit, as they themselves make no secret of it, that they do not think that their students ought to subject themselves to that examination, as at present conducted, believing that justice would not be done, either to the students or to the character of the institutions in which they have studied. We believe that such an opinion is well founded; and that the Council's utter failure, in their attempts to do what they were appointed to do, is not to any extent due to a factious or vexatious opposition on the part of the Missionaries, but is entirely chargeable to the fault of the Council. We are quite prepared to shew this by simple reference to the report before us. And for this purpose we must ask the special attention of our readers to the following questions, forming a part of the examination on “Literature Proper” for 1849:—

“LITERATURE PROPER. *Morning Examination.* [Note.—Where no distinct question is proposed, the passages and words marked in italics are to be fully explained.”]

MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING.

1. Give a brief analysis of the plot of the Play, and mention the supposed source from which it is taken.

ACT I. SCENE I.

2. *Beatrice*.—“*He set up his bills here in Messina, and challenged Cupid at the flight; and my uncle's fool, reading the challenge, subscribed for Cupid, and challenged him at the bird-bolt.*”
3. *Beatrice*.—“*He wears his faith, but as the fashion of his hat; it ever changes with the next block.*”  
*Messenger*.—“*I see, Lady, the gentleman is not in your books.*”
4. *Benedick* (to Pedro).—“*He is in love—with Hero.*”  
*Claudio*.—“*If this were so, so were it uttered.*”  
*Benedick*.—“*Like the old tale, my Lord; “it is not so, nor it was not so; but indeed, God forbid, it should be so.”*”
5. *Benedick*.—“*But I hope you have no intention to turn husband.*”  
*Claudio*.—“*I would scarce trust myself, though I had sworn to the contrary, if Hero would be my wife.*”  
*Benedick*.—“*Is it come to this? Hath not the world one man, but he will wear this cap with suspicion?——— Go to, if faith; if thou wilt thrust thy head in a yoke, wear the print of it and sigh away Sundays.*”
6. *Benedick* (to Pedro).—“*Nay, mock not; the body of your discourse is sometimes guarded with fragments, and the guards are but slightly basted on neither; ere you flout old ends any further, examine your conscience.*”



## ACT II. SCENE I.

7. *Claudio* —

"Friendship is constant in all other things,  
 "Save in the office and affairs of love ;  
 "Therefore all hearts in love, use their own tongues ;  
 "Let every eye negotiate for itself,  
 "And trust no agent ; for beauty is a witch  
 "Against whose charms faith melteth into blood.  
 "That is an accident of hourly proof,  
 "Which I mistrusted not."

Paraphrase the whole of this passage.

8. *Benedick*.—"She told me, not thinking I had been myself, that I had been the prince's jester, heaping jest upon jest, *with such impossible conveyance, &c.*"

## ACT II. SCENE III.

9. *Pedro*.—"See you where Benedick hath hid himself."

*Claudio*.—"O, very well, my Lord ; this music ended, *we'll fit the kid fox with a pennyworth.*"

## ACT III. SCENE I.

10. *Hero*.—"No truly, Ursula, she is too disdainful.

"I know her spirits are as coy and wild

"As haggards of the rock."

What are *haggards of the rock* ?

Point out the aptness of the comparison.

## ACT IV. SCENE I.

11. *Leonato*.—"....."Being that I flow in grief,

The subtlest twine may lead me."

This is one of Shakspeare's shrewd observations upon human life. Show its application.

12. *Verges*.—"Nay, that's certain ; we have the exhibition to examine."

Correct the blunder of the constable.

13. *Hero*.—"I never yet saw man.

"How wise, how noble, young, how rarely featured,

"*But she would spell him backward* ; if fair,

"She'd swear the gentleman should be her sister ;

"If black, why nature, drawing of *an antick*,

"Made a foul blot ; if tall, a lance ill-headed ;

"If low, *an agate* very vilely cut.

*She would spell him backward*.—What received notion is here alluded to ?

Give the meanings of *an antick*—*an agate*.

Some copies have *aglet*. What is the difference ?

Do you recollect a similar comparison elsewhere in Shakspeare ?

## ACT IV. SCENE II.

14. *Claudio*.—"Nay but his jesting spirit, which is now *crept into a lute string*, and now *governed by stops*."

*Pedro*.—"Indeed that tells a heavy tale ;

"Conclude he is in love."

## ACT V. SCENE I.

15. *Leonato*.—"Bring me a father, that so loved his child,

"Whose joy of her is overwhelmed like mine.

\* \* \* \* \*

"If such a one will smile and stroke his bread,

"Cry, sorrow wag ! and hem, when he should groan ;  
 "Patch grief with proverbs ; make misfortune drunk  
 "With candle wasters ; bring him yet to me ;  
 "And I of him will gather patience."

16. *Claudio*.—"If he be angry, he knows how to turn his girdle."  
 From what practice was this form of expression derived ?

Now we ask our readers to look over these questions carefully, and then to say, whether there be not a considerable number of them, which could not be answered by any candidate whatsoever, unless he had been specially told the answer. Many of the questions are very easy—we have already quoted some of them for the very purpose of shewing that they are too easy. But, both of the easier and of the more difficult ones, there are several that we are certain could only be answered from memory. The conclusion then is irresistible. The particular plays of Shakespeare, on which the examination is to be held at the end of the year, are carefully taught in the Government institutions during the year; explanations of every difficulty are given by the teachers; and the students are thoroughly "crammed" for the examination. The professors and teachers of the Government institutions regard it as their duty, thus to cram their students; and so it is, in so far as duty consists in the fulfilment of a contract. But the Missionary teachers have another duty to perform: and they cannot leave that duty unfulfilled, in order to cram their students for such an examination.

Who then is to blame? The Missionaries, or the Council of Education? Ought the Missionaries to adapt their course of instruction to the requirements of the Council? Or ought the Council to adapt their requirements in some degree to the several courses of instruction pursued in the different classes of schools, whose students they are required to examine? If Lord Hardinge's minute, which is the *fons et origo* of the whole matter, is to be our guide, the question is already answered. If the Council's own interpretation of that minute is entitled to any consideration, that interpretation is decidedly against themselves. When they put forth, in 1845, that apology, to which we have already alluded, they fully admitted that, for that year only, they were not doing what the minute required of them: but they excused themselves on the ground that it did not lie within their power, on account of the want of time elapsing between the publication of the minute and the holding of the examination. But they have gone on ever since, doing precisely the same thing every year that they did then; and now seem to desire people to believe that they are doing the very thing that they were appointed to do. Which is right?

The Council of 1845, or the Council of 1849? Out of their own mouths they are condemned.

As to the fault of the Council, then, in failing to discharge the duty assigned to them by Lord Hardinge's minute, we hold that there cannot be a doubt. That minute required them to report to the Government the names of those students, who were qualified for the public service. It is a notorious fact that there are multitudes of students in the Missionary institutions, who are well qualified for this service; and yet not one of their names has ever appeared on the Council's list. We hold it proved, that the absence of these names is solely due to the Council's having adopted a test, which must, of necessity, fail to bring out the qualifications of those students, while it gives far more than a due value to the qualifications of other students. With the examination, viewed as a test for the scholarships in the Government Colleges, as indicating the amount of attention that has been paid by the students to the lessons of the year, and the way in which they have remembered the explanations of particular passages given them by their teachers, we have no fault to find. But viewed as a test, either of talents or acquirements generally, it is utterly worthless.

Now if justice is to be done to the students of all institutions, the examination must either be of such a kind, that the mere recollection of what has been told by the teacher to one class of the students, and not told by the teacher to the other class, shall not go for any thing (whereas now it goes for nearly all); or else it must be of such a kind, that the recollection of what has been told by the one class of teachers, shall go for as much as the recollection of what has been told by the other class. We shall not be deterred by the sneer that Mr. Bethune directs against Dr. Duff (when he says, that it seems to be recommended that Shakespeare and Pope should be discarded for Pollock and Montgomery) from expressing our conviction, that the generality of students in the Missionary institutions have quite as much knowledge of English literature as the generality of students in the Government institutions; and that they would stand a *fair* test with as much credit to themselves and their teachers. But until the Council choose to adopt such a test, we think the conductors of the Missionary institutions act wisely and kindly, when they recommend their students to keep aloof from the examination altogether. Whenever the two classes of students have come into fair competition, the result has been any thing rather than discreditable to the Missionary-taught students. Let the records of the Medical College be searched, and we venture to say that they will prove that the Missionary

students have actually distinguished themselves more than the Government students; that, in point of fact, the proportion in which the highest honours have been gained by the former, as compared with the latter, is considerably greater than the ratio of the number of students. Why is this? Simply because the test at the Medical College is a fair test, whereas the test for Government employment is egregiously unfair. It is scarcely necessary then to point out the fallacy in the following reasoning employed by Mr. Bethune:—"The Council are far from wishing to detract any thing from the merit of the Missionary schools. They believe, on the contrary, that the moral and religious training, which the students of these schools receive, is of the highest value to them in every respect; that it not only exercises a wholesome influence on their life and conduct, but that the indirect effect of the lessons, which they so receive, is to render them zealous for their own improvement, and more capable of intellectual development, than others who have not the same advantages. They think that Dr. Duff and the gentlemen whose opinions he is said to represent, have abandoned the high ground which they might have taken, if they had professed their conviction that their pupils might contend at no disadvantage with those of Government schools, notwithstanding the time bestowed on these extraneous studies. The Council are of opinion that they might have expected, even with respect to the results of a merely secular examination, that this time would be found to have been not unprofitably employed." Mr. Bethune is quite right as to what might be expected to be the bearing of the scheme of education adopted in the Missionary institutions on "the results of a merely secular examination," but quite wrong as to its bearing on the results of the examination instituted by the Council.

Nearly a similar objection applies to the mathematical and physical department of the examination. This consists of two parts, called "book-work" and "problems." But if any one will take the trouble to examine carefully the specimen of answers contained in the report, he will perceive at once that the fate of the battle depends upon the former part. Of the "problems" proposed, a large proportion are not attempted to be solved; some are solved partially, or imperfectly; some are wrong altogether; and all that are done are clumsily done. It is, then, upon the "book-work" that the matter mainly depends. Hence that a student may have a fair chance, he must have studied from the very books from which the questions are taken. There may be no special reason why the Missionary text-books should not be the same in this department with those of the Government. But

it is enough that they may not be the same, and in some cases we believe that they are not the same; and it is no part of the duty assigned to the Council to dictate or prescribe to the Missionary teachers what text-books they are to employ.

Altogether, although not so markedly in the mathematical as in the literary department, it is to us perfectly evident that the most successful student will not be the best scholar, but the best-crammed on a certain range of subjects, or rather, what is far worse, on a certain number of books. Now for this there might have been some excuse offered on behalf of the Council, had they been set to carry out a narrow-minded and illiberal resolution, that required a certain amount of *professional* knowledge, as indicating fitness for a particular employment. But when they have cramped Lord Hardinge's liberal and intelligent requirement for well-educated men into a requirement for well-crammed men, we can speak of their conduct in no other terms than those of unmitigated censure. However mere utilitarians may regard it, the enlightened statesman, who originated the measure, did both a wise and a useful thing, when he appointed an intellectual qualification as essential to employment in responsible stations; but the Council of Education does an exceedingly foolish thing, and a thing that would be much better than it is, were it merely useless, when they convert the intellectual into a merely mnemonic qualification. Whether we regard the main object of the Governor-General's resolution as being to give to the State the services of the best-educated men, or to give a stimulus to really good and sound education, the tendency of the method adopted by the Council is decidedly to counteract that object. If the Council would select those students who evince a healthy and vigorous understanding, who can think vigorously, and express their thoughts manfully (whether fluently or not, it matters little) and recommend them to the Government;—if they would let it be felt that mere cramming, whether of Shakespeare and Pope, or of Pollock and Montgomery, bears no price in their market;—then good would be done: the Hon'ble Company would get better servants; the people would be better educated; and the time would arrive sooner than it is likely to do, when India shall take her rightful place amongst the civilized and intelligent nations. Surely there needs be no great difficulty in selecting those men, whom it is the duty, and ought to be the delight, of the Council to honour. If the Council would but set about it under the guidance of frank, ingenuous, common sense, and would discard the counsels of scholastic pedantry, they would neither in one case out of a hundred admit into the list an individual who ought to be excluded, nor exclude two or three who ought to be included.

At present they admit many who were better kept out, and keep out a whole class, which doubtless comprehends many who ought to be admitted.

We have hitherto looked at the matter in a theoretical point of view; but we shall come to precisely the same conclusion, if we look at its practical working hitherto. The report informs us, that in the five years, 1845 to 1849 inclusive, the Council have passed thirty-five students, viz. :—six in the first class, and twenty-nine in the second. Of these it appears that four are now dead; eight are still pursuing their studies; eight are employed by the Council itself in educational service; two are employed in mercantile offices; seven are public officers; and six are still enjoying *otium cum dignitate*. If we suppose that two, out of the four that are dead, were appointed to public offices, we find that the utmost that the Council has done, has been to provide nine public servants, including a Conservancy Commissioner, whose appointment is not strictly a Government one, and who did not obtain his appointment through the circumstance of his name being on the Council's list. Hence it follows that scarcely any young men from the Missionary Institutions have been kept out of employment by the Council's test; and this, we take it, is the reason why the test has been hitherto allowed to continue in use. We remember a certain distinguished man's being asked by a Parliamentary Committee, whether he had said of a certain institution that "it was a nuisance"; and he answered, that although he could not recollect what expressions might have escaped him in unguarded moments, he thought it very unlikely that he should have applied that epithet to it, as he always regarded it "not as a nuisance, but rather as a nullity." Now it is because the Council's examination has been heretofore far more of a nullity than of a nuisance, that it has been patiently borne. We should imagine that the Government will ere long require of the Council to convert it from a nullity into an utility. But the moment it becomes an utility, it will be apparent to all that it is a nuisance, and the Missionaries will raise their voice for its removal. Nor will that voice be disregarded by the Government, inasmuch as it will have both right and expediency on its side. If the Council, with all its cumbrous and expensive machinery, can only furnish seven students each year on an average, who, in the estimation of their own teachers, are qualified for the public service, the Government clearly cannot afford to slight the efforts of those, who, without asking for any Government aid at all, are raising up a body of young men, many of whom have been tried and found abundantly qualified for that service.

ART. III.—*The Times Newspaper. London. 1851.*

REFLECTING upon the melancholy truth of the statement lately made by Mr. Hume in the House of Commons, that “he thought that, looking at the population and situation of India, its connexion with England, and the resources of both countries, there was too great an inclination to treat India as if it were some minor colony, scarcely worthy of a moment’s consideration,” we almost feel disheartened from attempting any consideration of the measure, upon which so much of evil or of good is dependant. What avails it to number the many millions of subjects, to allude to the resources, to sketch the power, and to hint at the inherent weakness of our vast Empire, when all that is said, or that may be written, finds no ear: when a gigantic glass-shop in the Park, a shake of Dr. Wiseman’s cardinal-capped head, or a motion on that delectable department, the Woods and Forests, produces far higher interest, and creates much greater commotion, than any question, however weighty, involving the interests of India. Yet we cannot patiently submit to see India treated as if it were a farm belonging to the twenty-four Directors in *esse* or in *posse*—a paternal estate belonging to that “body of very able and very experienced men,” as Lord John Russell styles them; and, however hopeless the task may seem, we have resolved to make the endeavour to awaken attention to the magnitude and the importance of timely inquiry, prior to any legislative enactment connected with the now rapidly approaching close of the East India Company’s Charter.

This is the more imperatively a duty, inasmuch as Mr. C. Anstey’s motion has had a result, which, whether or not anticipated, entitles him to the gratitude of India. He has pretty plainly developed what the Court of Directors deem ‘a satisfactory’ inquiry, as well as the course they are prepared to recommend, and to pursue in order to enable the public to pronounce upon the existing state of India. Nothing can well be imagined more convenient for the Court of Directors, or more likely to suit their purposes, than the suggestions which Sir J. W. Hogg somewhat prematurely hazarded. That Mr. Melville and Sir J. W. Hogg be entrusted with the preparation and selection of information from the India House, and that statesmen, like Lord Hardinge and Lord Dalhousie, be the evidence adduced before a committee, is the foreshadowing of as snug an arrangement as the Leadenhall-street Cabinet could well have devised. But it may be doubted whether the public will be equally contented with

this ingenious and ingenuous programme of the two Directors, Sir J. W. Hogg and Mr. Mangles: and we in India must certainly raise our voices, however little they may be listened to, against this mode of re-granting the Charter of one of the noblest empires ever entrusted to a conquering nation.

For seven years, we have, with uniform moderation both of praise and of censure as respects the Government, and with hearty earnestness as regards the welfare of the millions under British rule, sought to present to the public, whether in India or in England, correct views. We have endeavoured honestly and faithfully to advance the cause of truth; and, having now grown somewhat old in the habit of speaking plainly, we feel it a duty to protest against any such farcical investigation as Sir J. W. Hogg and Mr. Mangles evidently contemplate, and to call attention to suggestions, which savour of anything rather than the searching inquiry, which both of these gentlemen ostensibly court, but really seek to elude. India, like Miss Talbot, is a very interesting ward, with a rather large fortune to be disposed of; and this parallel must have been running in Mr. C. Anstey's head, when he said that "one might suppose that the East India Company was an angelic hierarchy, and that the Board of Controul was a community of archangels;" but, as in the one case, the public would rather hear some one else's story as well as the Bishop of Clifton's, so, in the other, both India and England would rather hear some other evidence besides that of the dignitaries of the India Board and Leadenhall-street, or of their Cardinals *a latere*, Hardinge and Dalhousie—both able men doubtless, but having some small interest in, or hopes from, the temporalities of the conclave of Mr. Anstey's Leadenhall-street archangels. An inquiry, to be satisfactory, must not be limited to a well got up flourish of trumpets. We have felt the pulse of India sufficiently well to know that the men of mind among her millions (there are a few, though this scheme ignores their existence) will deem such an investigation mere mockery: and the British legislature, instead of being regarded with respect and confidence, will be held as much on a par in point of principle and independence with one of the native Durbars—differing rather in the magnitude of the field offered for the successful play of interested ingenuity, than in the character of the assembly. Let it be remembered, that in India the enlightenment of the millions may, in our estimation; judged by European standards, be small: but no one, who has mixed with and really knows the people of India, will ever be found to compare their capacity and keenness for suspicion and distrust with their



enlightenment. They will draw shrewd conclusions, if a Committee place themselves in the hands of the India House, and adopt the convenient course so considerably chalked out for them by Sir J. W. Hogg. Natives are proverbially expert in arraying evidence suited to any object, which they may have in view. The art is an old one in India; and it has here so many adepts, that if it be worth a thought to maintain the character of the Houses of Parliament for probity, for high and strict integrity, free from all suspicion of trick and jobbery, we venture to recommend the adoption of a wider circle, from whence to elicit information; and that any committee, grappling with the vast and important subject of the present and future administration of India, should be careful not to permit themselves to be restricted to the sphere indicated by the Court of Directors.

Stars may do indifferently well to steer by occasionally; but when the good ship's timbers and soundness are to be examined, and her sea-worthiness tested for another voyage, we would prefer hearing what Tom, the carpenter, had to say on the matter, to questioning the pole star, or any other fixed or erratic luminary. In fact Governors-General are far too meteoric, pass far too rapidly, and at too high an elevation, ever to have a practical insight into the working of the machinery of Government amongst the numerous and various population of India: and almost necessarily they both come and depart entirely ignorant of the real wants, feelings and character of the millions subjected to their rule. Consider for a moment the two exemplars of Sir J. W. Hogg. Lord Hardinge, who always candidly avowed his complete ignorance of everything connected with the civil administration, and therefore left all in the hands of his civil secretaries, was, the greater part of his short stay in India, either wholly absorbed by making preparations for war, or by sharing in its fatigues and vicissitudes. What is a committee of the House of Commons likely to elicit on the great subjects of the trade, the finances, the laws, and the general civil administration of the Indian Government from such an evidence, but a hazy reflection of the opinions, which he took at second hand from the civil secretaries, in whom he reposed confidence? These opinions he never had the leisure, and never pretended to submit to any investigation of his own. Something of the vicissitudes of his Sutlej campaigns, if so inclined, he might be able to disclose; somewhat too of the diplomatic transactions in which he was engaged, and of his ephemeral Punjab policy; but who in his senses would look for more—would expect from him comprehensive sound deep

views on the infinite variety of questions which should form the object of inquiry before the Committee? Certainly no one in India, who had opportunities of seeing and knowing Lord Hardinge.

Again, take the other exemplar, Lord Dalhousie. Even Sir J. W. Hogg, when quoting his Lordship's energy, humanity, and extraordinary talents for administration, could only instance the Punjáb, as the scene of the exercise of these qualities. Now granting, which we doubt, that Lord Dalhousie had mastered everything connected with the Punjáb; that it were the garden, which the Director represented it to be; and that money has been liberally spent there, which no body doubts—still the country of the five rivers is a small part of the wide-spread empire under his sway. The Punjáb is not India: and though the Committee would naturally be interested in what Lord Dalhousie might have to say of the tract in question and its administration, it would scarcely look for much more than that, and such general acquaintance with the main features of the financial state of the empire, as presses itself more immediately upon a Governor-General's attention. The Committee could not expect a practical insight into much more than what we have sketched from the two Directorial exemplars. We insist, therefore, upon the absolute necessity for a far wider range of inquiry, than that of the English statesmen who have governed India, whether limited to these two, or including others, who are to the full as able, though (it may be presumed) not likely to be such partial witnesses, as those thus selected by the court. Statesmen, whether partial or impartial, sent to govern, are too transitory a class to sound the exigencies of the Indian community. Take their evidence by all means, whether favouring or hostile: but give it no more than its due weight; and, instead of regarding it as exclusively *the* testimony of value, and despising that derived from other sources, drop your shafts below the upper surface, and sink deep through all the strata; you will be none the worse for learning what kind of soil your borer has to traverse, and you can never know when it may strike upon a generous spring, that shall come welling up to refresh your labour. The Artesian fountains of experience and information sometimes lie low; and are not confined to the class, that is the shortest time in India, sees usually the least of that wide country, and, whilst there, is surrounded by an atmosphere, which too often prevents its beholding clearly, what otherwise it might have a chance of seeing aright, were the haze and cloud of official prejudice neither so thick nor so constantly enveloping.

Parliamentary tactics admit of the exhibition of great diversity of manœuvres: but none of these requires less ability, and is of a grosser or more palpable kind than that, which, to cover a plentiful lack of argument, has recourse to giving a general question a personal bearing. Mr. Anstey's motion had evidently as little connection with any mere personal question of the ability, or the reverse, of the present Governor-General, as it had with California or the Dresden conferences. There was no wish to impale any one of the triumvirate, Lord Dalhousie, Sir H. Pöttinger, or Lord Falkland. Great general questions were the object of the motion. This the Premier acknowledged, but adroitly took advantage of the acknowledgment, to give a personal turn to the debate, and to oppose the sending out Commissioners to India to inquire into matters upon the spot, on the ground that Mr. Anstey had stated nothing to shew, either that Lord Dalhousie was incompetent to conduct the Government, or that any measures recently taken required investigation; and that the presence of Commissioners would produce great excitement throughout India, and would for a time destroy all authority in that country. Of course Hogg and Mangles followed the lead: and Lord Dalhousie must really feel under great obligations to Lord J. Russell for mooted the question of his incompetence, and to Hogg and Mangles for their defence of his administrative ability, which had never been attacked. But, though it must be very gratifying to the Governor-General to have such an apologist as Sir J. W. Hogg, and to be the object of his sentimental expression of sympathy for physical sufferings, we should doubt whether his Lordship would altogether feel flattered at the considerate skill of his friends, who, when deeming themselves attacked and in danger, thus parade him—make him a sort of cushion, which first has to bear the blows of their adversaries, and then is employed to try and smother them. The defence was so entirely gratuitous, so unnecessary, and so uncalled for, that the motive, which led to its being made, is perfectly transparent. To deaden the battering ram of Anstey and Bright, a cotton bale was to be swung over the wall. *N'importe*, of course, what happens to the convenient bale, so long as the citadel is unshaken.

To plain men like ourselves, who are living in the midst of the millions of India, and who have had opportunities of knowing the temper and feelings of the people intimately for years, and have been in contact and communication with all classes, high and low, rich and poor, chiefs and ryots, and that too in many different quarters of India, the apprehensions

of the worthy Premier, as to the destruction of authority from the presence of Commissioners, are as arrant a bug-bear as the Russo-phobia of 1838, when the Affghan war was undertaken. If proof were required of the advantage, that would be derived from local investigation into the chief questions which affect the welfare of India, we should need none more satisfactory than the debates on Mr. Anstey's motion; for, from the reported speeches of those who addressed the house on that occasion, it is quite clear, that neither those, who made and supported the motion, nor those who opposed it, not even excepting among the latter Sir J. W. Hogg, knew well what they were talking about. The one party was as vague in its comprehension of the existing state of affairs, as the other was vague in its fears, and shuffling in its elusions: both parties, and that third great party, the British people, indubitably need enlightenment. We are convinced that it would have been equally safe and politic on the part of the Court of Directors, instead of opposing, to have favoured Mr. Anstey's motion in its entirety, and to have not only assented to, but also urged, the despatch of Commissioners for local inquiry in India. The opposition of the Court of Directors to this measure cannot fail of exciting violent suspicions both in England and in India; for, if the administration of the latter country be what Sir J. W. Hogg represents it, why evince such apprehension of a few parliamentary Commissioners? why elude local investigation? why cut off the natives of India from a single opportunity of giving expression to their views and opinions? All this will not look well; and is the more impolitic, as, although the administration of India has its faults and its short-comings, we are confident that the ultimate result of the most searching investigation, which Commissioners could institute, would not, on the whole, prove unfavourable, and might be productive of much future benefit, by bringing home to the minds of unprejudiced men, in whom the British people had confidence, the inherent difficulties besetting some of the great questions, which have attracted most the attention of the public in England.

It is evident that Mr. Anstey himself had a very limited idea of the amount of labour, ability, and energy, which, in order to work out his views, would have been essential; and, had we made any objection to his proposal, it would have been on the ground that it would be found difficult in practice to secure the instruments requisite for the due fulfilment of so onerous and important a duty. Two or three Commissioners would have been useless. A Commission for each Presidency, of suffi-

cient strength to be able to sub-divide into minor sections, so as to effect a distribution of labour, would have been indispensable. The difficulty of obtaining a commission of such strength, in whose members the nation should have confidence, would have proved by no means trifling; and we can understand its forming an objection of some validity, though one which might, and ought to have been surmounted; for, as we profess to rule India, not alone with respect to the interests of the British people, but also with reference to those of our native subjects, the legislature should have felt imperatively called upon to surmount the difficulty. In no other way, but by sufficient, unbiassed, competent, local investigation, could the mind and wishes of the native community, their content or discontent, their oppression or the reverse, be ascertained. To those actually exercising authority, under a system to which they have been trained, and of which they form the working machinery, no native will unbosom himself. Independence of thought and speech forms no part of the native character; and the dread of authority, and of offending those who actually do, or shortly may, wield it, checks all independent expression of opinion. It is rare indeed that a native makes a confidant of any European servant of the Company, civil or military. He will always praise our institutions, our courts, our fiscal arrangements; our conduct—yet usually with the addition of a “but,” followed by remarks, which, though solicitously guarded, indicate the existence of a something in courts, conduct, institutions, and fiscal arrangements, not in harmony with the habits and feelings of the people. The praise is merely to pioneer and smooth the way for a guarded retraction of all real approval. A Commission would have sounded these dispositions and views the more effectually, inasmuch as it would be felt and known that, invested by the Imperial Parliament with ample powers and authority to examine, the members were independent of the machinery of the local Government, and not wedded to its views or system: at the same time the consciousness, that the Commission was merely inquisitorial and transitory, would check the expression of more frivolous accusations and discontent, as calculated to work, when the Commission was withdrawn, to the disadvantage of those, who gave vent to such ebullitions. So great is the dread in an Eastern mind of the executive authority and its machinery, that the Commissioners, in lieu of shaking the spirit of subordination, would have experienced that one of their greatest difficulties arose from the overwhelming awe, which chokes all expression of thought in a native, until he imagines he has discovered what it is wished that he should say. The

Commission would not assuredly have found itself embarrassed by the independence of tone of its native informants.

From the utter silence of the Premier and Sir J. W. Hogg on the subject of native testimony, we suppose that it is deemed unnecessary to consult the views and opinions of our native subjects: for it is plain that there are not more than half-a-dozen men, who would go to England for the purpose of answering the queries of a parliamentary Committee, and that, out of that half-a-dozen, the proportion is small that are of any calibre of intellect. Among Hindus, Dwarkanath Tagore are scarce, and few or none of that great class of our population would cross the ocean on such a mission: yet the Hindu mind is calm, temperate, clear and subtle in all appertaining to its temporal concerns. It is searching in the observation of individual character; watches with all the attention of deep self-interest the course of our administration, and the working of our measures; and, although one could not perhaps be induced to proceed to England for the purpose of appearing before a parliamentary Committee, many could be produced before a Commission sitting on the spot—able and intelligent men too—who, on the various questions of paramount importance to India, could, if they pleased, give valuable information, and, what is of still greater consequence, unfold the latent opinions and real feelings of the Hindu population. The Mussulman is less averse to crossing the sea; and a fair number might be selected, who have had some experience of, and acquaintance with, the working of our system; but being trained in that system, and for the most part having had little or no experience elsewhere, their views are limited. Still from among this class too, some useful information might be derived, if they had an opportunity of speaking out: but no great proportion of them would willingly proceed to England for that purpose.

The whole tendency of our administration has of late years been to annihilate or reduce to insignificance, not only the princes hostile to our supremacy, with whom we came into conflict, but also the minor class of princes and chiefs, with whom we had no such quarrel. The gentry of the land has, throughout our own provinces, almost wholly disappeared; and the poverty-stricken and depressed remnants of this once considerable and influential class hide their want and their wounded pride in jealous seclusion. Neither chiefs nor broken-down gentry can be expected to visit England with the view of laying their opinions before Parliament. How then are the thoughts and feelings of these still important, though subdued, classes to be ascertained, or their griefs learnt, but by local inquiry?

Surely, if India is to be governed, not altogether irrespectively of the real sentiments of the different classes of its vast and heterogeneous population, wisdom and humanity, as well as sound policy and the associated interests of Great Britain, all combine to render a call for native evidence advisable. Can we honestly or consistently exclude it, and shrink from thus testing the vaunts repeated *ad nauseam* of our integrity, liberality, and consideration? Most men will answer at once that we cannot, except at the expense of our character and pretensions. If this be granted, will it be alleged that to send to England two or three picked natives, duly selected by the Indian Government and its subordinates, will answer the purpose, and furnish a Blue Book with a specious sprinkling of Mussulman or Hindu opinion and testimony, in order to wipe away the charge of ignoring the feelings of the millions of India? Few beyond the precincts of the India House or Canon Row will hazard the assertion, that such a caricature of native testimony would be satisfactory either to England or India. How then remove the blot except by local investigation of Commissioners? Herein would have lain the chief advantage of a Commission sent out to India; for, in other respects, however great the abilities and the energies of the gentlemen selected for this weighty office, the time at their disposal would scarcely have sufficed for more than a somewhat superficial investigation, if all the complicated questions mooted by the Manchester school were to be explored and scrutinized. The great and chief utility of the Commission would have been to gauge the feelings and opinions of the native community, to ascertain their exact position with reference to their immediate superiors, and to bear back to the Parliament an unprejudiced report of what they had heard and seen. Enjoying the confidence of the British public, the representatives of the British people would have made their statement free from suspicion, and would have satisfied their constituents and the nation far more effectually than will be the result of any other course. It is not, that we doubt that there are servants of the Company, who are both capable and willing to give truthful independent testimony and sound honest opinions: but necessarily their evidence would be regarded by the bulk of the English nation as that of interested partial witnesses, and would not carry the weight, which would be granted undoubtingly to the report of Commissioners.

These remarks are written in no spirit of hostility to the services in India. We are confident that the Government of India is well and ably served, and our pages have often shewn that we have pleasure in doing these services ample justice.

Indeed, but for the fact that Sir J. W. Hogg takes occasion to defend the civil service, as a body free from corruption or depravity, twisting Mr. Anstey's motion into a special onslaught upon that body, and then very gallantly undertaking their defence with the same good taste as he exhibited with respect to Lord Dalhousie, we should never have deemed it necessary to allude to the favourable opinion of the services which we entertain. But, with such an instance before our eyes of the perversion of a man's motion and meaning, it is necessary to state that we see no connexion between the general objections to a system as advanced by Mr. C. Anstey, and a specific attack upon one class of the Company's servants. Mr. Anstey's views may be those of a person but superficially acquainted with most of the subjects on which he dilates, and his animadversions on the general system of administration may be rather crude; but what on earth has this to do with the corruption or depravity of the civil service? About as much as the sending out Commissioners to India would have had with the incompetence of Lord Dalhousie. When men in the position of Directors approach the truly great subject of legislating for India in such a spirit, they do more to warrant the sweeping condemnation, and the desire for thorough root-and-branch changes evinced by their opponents, than all the arguments of the latter can effect. Recourse to such subterfuge is suicide; they cut their own throats.

Now, although our administration in India is far, very far from being perfect, and the constitution of the Home branches of the Indian Government is very faulty, and capable of great improvement, we are by no means anxious to witness India transferred to the Colonial Department. That would indeed be a fatal consummation, and the turning point in all human probability of the destiny of this magnificent empire. Whether justly, or not, it has been boldly won. We wish to see it henceforth wisely ruled, and firmly kept; and as we do not think that this object would be secured by transferring its administration to the Colonial Department, and are of opinion that the line adopted by Sir J. W. Hogg, in endeavouring to smother and circumscribe evidence and information, is pregnant with evil, and calculated to foster and provoke ill-grounded suspicions, and to favour the entertainment of propositions for total changes, which, instead of amending the constitutions of the Home branch of the Government of India, would be more likely to substitute one of unstable character and irregular action, and might be productive of much evil both to England and India,—we purpose, in a series of short articles, to review the various



subjects, which bear upon the question of the future Government of India, in the hope that a plain impartial examination of these subjects may be alike favourable to improvement in the Home and in the Indian branches of the administration.

The subjects are too extensive, too various to allow of condensation into a single article, and our readers must permit our remarks to be presented piece-meal, bearing in mind the multifarious matters, that have an important influence on the general question at issue, which may be propounded as being, What is the best administration for India in relation to its own welfare and prosperity, and to its connection with Great Britain? We hold that the interests of the two countries are intimately blended, and that, circumstanced as both are, any policy, which places these interests in antagonism, is neither sound nor wise. Providence has thrown upon the British nation the heavy responsibility of an empire numbering many millions of souls; and according as our rule proves beneficent, or the reverse, will England herself derive advantage or loss, honour or disgrace, the admiration or the contempt of that world, which has always regarded India as one of the most enviable of possessions. In the scheme of Divine providence, the judgments upon nations appear more sure and unfailing than upon individuals. Retribution follows misgovernment with an iron step, and crushes with inevitable ruin the children and children's children of an oppressing nation. Strange as it may seem to some of our readers, this idea is prevalent amongst the millions of India: and we have heard the speech of an intelligent and wealthy Hindu, when he witnessed a long course of unscrupulous conduct and successful corruption in a high British functionary—"Well, if the English send us such men as these, their days are numbered: they will not long be allowed to keep this country." So spoke one, who could enlighten, on several important subjects, any Commission sent to India. The speech was spoken in bitterness at what was passing before his eyes, and therefore was not of general application; but it proves that, no matter what a man's religion may be, when he sees the great principles of integrity and justice departed from, there arises at once the internal assurance of an avenging arm; and the conviction paves the way for the coming retribution. We err greatly, when upon differences of creed, or the existence of gross superstition, we found arguments hostile to clearness of vision with respect to temporal matters. The Hindu, the Mussulman, the Buddhist, the Parsí, sees his way shrewdly enough in worldly affairs: and, in arrogating for the servants of the East India Company clearer powers of percep-

tion as to the real feelings, wishes and interests of the multiform classes under their dominion, there is more of the presumption arising from a superficial acquaintance with the people, than of deep views and knowledge of their characters.

In support of the institutions, which the British supremacy has imposed upon India, there is far too great a tendency on the part of our functionaries to disregard, and indeed to despise, the judgment of the very people for whom these institutions are framed, and who can best judge in many respects, though possibly not in all, of their adaptation to the wants of the community, and their favourable or unfavourable operation. We have always observed that the more intimately a European officer became conversant with the real views and opinions of the various classes with whom duty brought him into contact, in direct proportion to his ability and soundness of judgment were the moderation and modesty with which he pronounced upon the result of the measures of our administration, as viewed from the platform of the native mind, habits and associations. Few men can place themselves on that platform; and few have the skill or the patience to sound the views of the people under them. It is far easier to assert the excellence of our rule, to arrogate all wisdom and integrity for the instruments of that rule, to blacken the native qualities, and to pronounce them disabled from forming tolerable opinions, even in their temporal concerns, by falsehood, superstition, and their concomitants, exaggeration and dark ignorance; but this is as great a blunder as to dream that the Hindus are pure, simple, innocent souls, qualified for a terrestrial paradise.

That Commissioners are not to be sent out to India must now doubtless be regarded as decided. We regret the fact; the Manchester school would have been better pleased, and so would the people of England, though disappointed in some of their expectations, to have had their views corrected by men, whom they must have viewed as unprejudiced, or, if having any bias, one hostile to the existing state of our relations with, and our government of, India. Their report would have smoothed away many surmises and suspicions: and we even now wish, if not too late, that, upon any particular subject which most interested the party with whom the suggestion of Commissioners arose, that the Home Government would accede to these wishes, and permit the despatch of parliamentary inquisitors. Instead of having to repent of such concession, ministers would find that their apprehensions, if really entertained, were vain, and that the advantages obtained, if merely in the correction of erroneous views on the authority of unsuspected Commissioners, would far out-balance any minor inconveniences.

Were the native community represented by an enlightened press; had the chiefs and people the means, the inclination, and the opportunity of expressing their grievances, their opinions, their wishes through the instrumentality of the broad sheets of an Indian *Times*; had they an omnipresent organ for thus instantaneously acting on public opinion; for quickly exposing oppression to detestation, corruption to infamy, and inefficiency to contempt, there would have been less reason for advocating the deputation of Parliamentary Commissioners. There is however no *Times* for the millions of India; and the millions of England, when they read of the freedom of the Press in India, must rid their minds, if they can, of the analogies which these cabalistic words convey. The English newspapers published in India are chiefly supported by the services, civil and military, of the East India Company, and by the European residents of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. The press of course studies the tastes and requirements of its supporters; and, in so far as it is the exponent of anything, it indicates the matters which interest the European community—that small body having to rule many millions, and being on the whole both an intelligent and a highly honourable body, deeply interested in the administration of the empire which it is called upon to govern. The Anglo-Indian press, though of purely class circulation, frequently therefore addresses itself, with more or less ability, to subjects of general importance, in connection with the advancement and improvement of the provinces under our rule; but of course in a different spirit and from a different point of view from that which a press, the exponent of the native classes, would assume. Add to this that there is no means or method, by which the editors can feel the pulse of the Indian millions, and that they are dependent for information upon channels, which cannot be supposed to be unprejudiced—and it will be obvious that, however well intentioned and independent, it is impossible for an editor to know the sentiments of the native community. The few vernacular papers are of extremely limited circulation, the state of education and the general poverty of the masses militating against the success of native editors, whilst the qualifications of the latter are not of an order to overcome these difficulties, and to establish for themselves a general reputation. The trashy lucubrations of a few Calcutta Babús are no more any indication of the mind and feelings of the people of India, than a fishing punt on a stagnant pool is the model of a first-class frigate bounding over the waves of stormy ocean. The native papers at Agra, Delhi, Madras, and Bombay, are somewhat superior to those of Calcutta, but still most indifferent pro-

ductions and enjoy a very limited circulation—one not to be compared to that of a fourth rate provincial town newspaper in England, and infinitely below such a paper in matter and manner.

Public opinion in India, by which we mean the exposition of the general sentiments of chiefs and people, is therefore wholly and entirely unrepresented: and the European press, even where unbiassed by class connections and influences, which is far from being always the case, is often very grossly misled, and falls into lamentable errors, in spite of the best intentions. We have seen the European Press praise men, as the models of public servants, whom we knew to be unprincipled, corrupt, and despised by the native community, as not even coming up to their own standard of integrity, debased as they acknowledge that to be; whilst, on the other hand, we have known the European press to be hounded on to the abuse and misrepresentation of public servants, whom the native community honoured and respected, as just, able, and of stainless probity. Sometimes this was to be ascribed to a hostile faction, knowing how to “work the press” as it is technically termed; but more frequently to the complete isolation of the European Press, and its want of connection with, and of feelers among, the native community; its want of authentic accurate information upon those most important points, the grievances, wishes, and opinions of the people. Hence, as the European press is, we repeat, no representative of public opinion in India, either as to men or measures—the chiefs, not actually at the three Presidencies, scarce heeding its existence, and never aware of its functions and character, whilst the millions are wholly ignorant of any such machinery, which neither directly nor indirectly can make itself practically felt among them—we advocate strongly that the Committee of the House of Commons have power to depute Commissioners for local investigation upon any matters, which seem to require inquisitorial scrutiny on the spot. In the course of the remarks, which we contemplate submitting to our readers in subsequent numbers, a few subjects, on which local inquiry would be advantageous, may be pointed out: though, after the general expression of opinion here made, that investigations on the spot would be alike politic and free from danger or inconvenience, there will be no necessity for again recurring to the subject, further than incidentally to illustrate the position, we have advanced, by occasionally instancing an example, where local scrutiny before Commissioners would be useful, not less to India, than to England.

ART. IV.—*Festivals, Games, and Amusements; Ancient and Modern.* By Horatio Smith. *Family Library*, No. 25.

[THE games and amusements of a country take their colour and complexion from the prevailing character of its inhabitants.] The sports of the warlike, active, and enterprising Romans were totally different from those of the voluptuous, sensual, and sedentary Persians; the festivals and merry-makings of the vivacious and pleasure-loving Greeks had nothing in common with those of the thoughtful but gloomy and priest-ridden Egyptians; while the war-dances of the North American Indians are in marked contrast with the elegant and somewhat effeminate amusements of the modern Italians. In this way perhaps, the festivals, games, sports, and amusements of a people afford a criterion for ascertaining their prevailing national character. They also serve to indicate the progress of refinement and civilization. In the infancy of society, when habits are rude and manners unpolished, games and sports partake of the general rusticity. With the march of civilization and the progress of refinement, the very amusements of a people become polished. The sports of the heroes, described by Homer towards the end of his immortal Epic, consisting in struggles of physical strength, were vastly different from the gay festivals and lively games of the Ionian Greeks of a later date; and the bull-baitings of the days of Queen Elizabeth would scarcely be tolerated in merry England in the nineteenth century.

The Bengalis are second to no nation in the number and variety of their festivals and amusements. Europeans in this country are accustomed to see the natives in the hours of business, and infer, from the air of artificiality which they assume on those occasions, that they are a cold-hearted, dull, and frigid people. Nothing can be a more erroneous conclusion. Were we to observe them in their seasons of recreation and leisure, when, divested of reserve, they shew themselves in their genuine colours; were we to mingle in their diversions, their festivals, and sports; were we to join in their evening talk, or their nocturnal merry-makings, we would find them a lively, vivacious, and merry people.

It is not our object in the following pages to describe the almost innumerable festivals and holidays of the Bengalis. These may be handled in a separate paper in a future number: in this we confine our attention to their games and amusements.

The most superficial observer of Bengali manners must know that their games and sports are, for the most part, sedentary. The amusements of a numerous people, that do not supply the British army with a single sepoy, cannot be expected to bear a military character. The Bengali is certainly the least pugnacious animal in the world. The gods did not make him warlike. Possessed of lax nerves, of a feeble body, and of a timid soul, nature has not meant him to handle a gun, or wield a sword. Unlike the horse mentioned in the book of Job, "who paweth in the valley, and rejoiceth in his strength; who goeth to meet the armed men, mocketh at fear, and is not affrighted; who smelleth the battle afar off, the thunder of the captains, and the mighty," the Bengali quietly folds up his arms, smokes his *húka*, and carefully barricades his door at the approach of a red-coat. Placed as the Bengali is under the fervours of a tropical sun, and indisposed to frequent locomotion, we cannot expect him to be proficient in field sports. His maxim being, that "walking is better than running, standing than walking, sitting than standing, and lying-down best of all," it would be preposterous to expect him to excel in any sports requiring manly activity. Gentle in his manners, idle in his habits, timid in his dispositions, unenterprising in his thoughts, and slow in his motions, all his amusements and games must be for the most part sedentary. To a hasty description of some of these games, we now address ourselves.

The royal game of *Chess* merits the foremost notice. The history of this singular and intellectual game has been variously stated. The invention has been ascribed to the Hebrews, the Babylonians, the Persians, Chinese, and Hindus. Sir W. Jones, in his ingenious dissertation, "On the Indian game of chess," ascribes it to the last-mentioned people. The Sanskrit name of this game, or of one similar to it, is *Chaturanga*, or the four divisions of an army, of which word the term *Shatranj*—the name by which the game is designated in Persia and India—is supposed to be a corruption.

"Thus," says Sir William, "has a very significant word in the sacred language of the Brahmins been transformed by successive changes into *axedres*, *scacchi*, *echecs*, *chess*, and by a whimsical concurrence of circumstances, given birth to the English word *check*, and even a name to the *exchequer* of Great Britain."

It must be confessed, however, that the game of *Chaturanga*, as described in the Hindu books—in the *Bhavishya-Purána* for instance, extracts from which have been given by Sir W. Jones, and in Raghu-Nandan's "Institutes of the Hindu Religion"—is

materially different from the Persian chess. Instead of two, the Hindu Chaturanga consisted of four armies, which were ranged in battle array in four parts of the board; and, what is more, the moves of the pieces were not regulated by the skill of the players, but by the throws of the dice. Sir William supposes this to have been a later invention, or rather modification of the original chess.

Whatever may be the way in which the *questio vexata* of the invention of chess is solved (and we leave the matter to professed antiquarians), it is interesting for us to know that the *Shatranj* is universally prevalent in Bengal. The Bengali chess-board is the same as the European, with this difference, that the shrewd Bengali, averse to extravagant expenditure, usually draws his figure of sixty-four squares on a common sheet of paper.] The pieces used in Bengal are of the same number as those of Europe, some of them however having different names. The *Rájá*, or king, is of course the commander-in-chief in this mock battle: next to him is the *mantri*, or minister—the *pherz* of the Persians, the *vierge* of the French, and the *queen* of the English; next in order are the *elephants*—the Persian *phils*, the French *folz*, and the English *bishops*; and the *horses*—the Persian *aspensuar*, and the English *knights*. The English “*castle*,” the European “*rook*,” and the Persian “*rokah*,” has been ingeniously derived from the Sanskrita *Rath*, or chariot. But in Bengal the castle, or rook, has been most unaccountably changed into a *boat*. Sir W. Jones justly remarks that the intermixture of ships with horses, elephants and infantry on a plain, is an absurdity not to be defended. The *banes* of the Bengali are the *beydals* of the Persian, the *pietons* of the French, and the *pawns* of the English.

The moves of the pieces are similar to those of the European nations. All the pieces on one side of the board, agreeably to their Bengali names, are as follows: the king, the minister, two elephants, two horses, two boats, and eight foot-soldiers: agreeably to the English way of naming them in the words of the poet,—

“A monarch strongly guarded here we view  
By his own consort and his clergy too;  
Next those, two knights their royal sire attend,  
And two steep rocks are planted at each end;  
To clear the way before this courtly throng,  
Eight pawns as private soldiers march along;  
*Enfans Perdus*!! like heroes stout and brave  
Risk their own lives the sovereign to save:  
All in their progress forming a complete  
And perfect emblem of the game of state.”

The deep fascination, with which this bewitching game capti-

vates the mind, is known to every one practised in the art. It is related of a caliph of Bagdad, that when engaged at chess with his freed-man, Kuthar, a soldier informed him that the city, which was then besieged by the enemy, was on the point of surrendering, he is said to have cried out—"Let me alone, for I am about to check-mate Kuthar." The unfortunate Charles I., when playing at chess, was informed of the resolution of the Scots to deliver him to the Parliament; but his mind was so much occupied with the game, that he finished it with wonderful calmness.

The game of chess is held in high repute in Bengal. That the Bengalis are well skilled in the mysteries of this princely pastime, is not surprizing. Their intelligence and sagacity, in which perhaps they are second to no nation, peculiarly fit them for eminence in this game. The deep cunning, moreover, which forms no small ingredient of the national character, enables them with facility to dive into the depths of state policy and to extricate the entanglements of political schemes, of which this "game of state" is represented by some to be an apt emblem.

The *Páshá* is considered to rank next to chess, which is regarded as the prince of all games. Its well-known board consists of two long rectangles, intersecting each other at right angles in the middle, and making four small rectangles besides the middle square. Each of these four rectangles consists of twenty-four squares; so that altogether there are ninety-six squares, excluding the space or large square contained in the middle. The pieces, made use of in the game, are sixteen in number, four on each side of the board. Unlike chess, where every thing is left to ingenuity and skill, the moves of the pieces in the *Páshá* are regulated by the throws of three dice, of the usual form, generally made of ivory. This, like the preceding, is also represented to be a military game. That this game is of long standing in Bengal, is evident from the fact that *Yudhisthir* is said in the Hindu Shastras to have played it with *Dúryadhan*. There are two ways of playing at "*Páshá*"—the *Rang* and *Chaupári*; in the former, only two, and in the latter, four persons being engaged. The Bengalis, naturally a talkative race, preserve wonderful taciturnity while engaged in chess. Around the chess-board every thing is quiet as the grave. The spectators look on the combat with mute attention; while the players themselves are too thoughtful to give vent to words. The ordinary *Kisti* (check) uttered in a slow voice is answered by the *Basti* (removal of the king) pronounced in a tone still feebler: the final check-mate being announced with



due *eclat*. The Páshá-board is, on the contrary, a scene of noisy vociferation. The combatants breathe hatred and vengeance against each other; the throws of the dice are accompanied with tremendous noise; and the sounds of "*Kache-Baro*" and "*Baro-Panch*" are heard from a considerable distance. It is altogether a lively scene, in strong contrast with the apathy generally attributed to the Bengalis. Around the Páshá-board is thrown away much "excellent indignation," which, if properly husbanded and directed in one strong current against the oppressing zemindars of their country, might lighten the burdens of the people, and augment their social happiness.

In point of gentility, in the estimation of the Bengali, *Playing cards* occupy the third place. Every one is acquainted with the fact, that the mysteries of managing fifty-two quadrangular pieces of painted paste-board are not Hindu in their origin. Whether cards were invented in France towards the conclusion of the fourteenth century for alleviating the ill-humour of a King, or in Spain by an Abbé; or whether they were introduced into Europe by the Moorish invaders, who imported it from the East, or by the crusaders of the eleventh century; whether the pack originally consisted of thirty-six or fifty-two; whether the "combat on the velvet plain" was an allegorical representation of the feudal system—the king representing the feudal monarch, the knaves the powerful barons, (the queens being a later invention of French gallantry), and the numerical cards the degraded serfs; whether the suits symbolized the four classes of society, *spades* the nobility, *hearts* the clergy, *clubs* the husbandmen, and *diamonds* the vassals or the soldiers; and whether the technicalities of the Aristotelian Logic may not be conveniently taught by the apt-emblems of the quadrangular pieces, as a hot-brained friar of the sixteenth century is said to have imagined and actually practised—all these we leave to be determined by those who delight in such researches. We suppose the Bengalis learnt the art of dealing and shuffling from their enlightened conquerors—the Europeans. The king and the queen they style *Saheb* and *Bibi*; and the Bengali *Pramará* is, doubtless, a corruption of the European *Primer*. It is scarcely necessary to add that the cards used by the Bengalis are precisely those used by the Europeans.

Besides *Primer*, the most usual play is what is termed *Grábu*: it is played by four persons with a pack of thirty-two cards—the twos, threes, fours, fives, and sixes, being excluded. That gambling of some sort existed in the country from a remote age is unquestionable; but the Bengalis are by no means deep gamblers, and we are greatly mistaken if their gambling

propensities have not been increased by the introduction of European cards. *Cowries* (shells) were, and are, still used by the peasantry for gambling purposes ; but these, it ought to be remembered, are games of small hazard.

The chess, the *páshá*, and cards constitute the whole circle of the games of the largest proportion of the intelligent and sober part of the Hindu community. They are played in the halls of the rich, the *chandi-mandalas* of the middling classes, and under the shades of trees. The Bengalis are a very sociable and pleasure-loving people. Gregariousness is one of the prominent features of their national character. In every village the people assemble together in separate parties, subsequent to their afternoon nap, for purposes of recreation and interesting talk. We do not here speak of the lower orders of the people, but of the gentry of Bengal. In the cool of the evening, parties of respectable natives may be not unfrequently seen sitting under the umbrageous *Bakul*, and amusing themselves with chess, *páshá*, or cards. Laying aside for a season the pride of wealth and even the rigorous distinctions of caste, Brahmins and Sudras may be seen mingling together for recreation. The noisy vociferations and the loud laugh betoken a scene of merriment and joy. The *húkah*, a necessary furniture of a Bengali meeting place, is ever and anon by its fragrant volleys ministering to the refreshment of the assembly ; while the plaudits of the successful player rise higher than the curling smoke issuing from the coconut vessel. The games over, they separate for a short time ; and, when the shades of evening thicken around them, re-assemble within-doors, and amuse themselves again with music and cards.

We have often thought that the degradation of the females of India has been generally drawn in exaggerated colours. That women in India do not attain to that state in society, which they do in Europe, is unquestionable ; but that they are viewed here in the light of slaves, cattle, and household property, is not true. We speak not of the place which the Hindu Shastras assign to women in the scale of society, but speak of things as they exist before us. People at home, ignorant of Hindu manners and customs, and drawing their inferences from their theoretic knowledge of Hinduism, which is not deep, have a notion that Hindu females, like negro slaves, are doomed to unrelenting servitude, and subjected to all the ills of life without its enjoyment and pleasures. That much of their time is devoted to all sorts of in-door work is true ; but is not that the case even in England ? Were they allowed the privilege of improving their minds by the salutary exercises of reading and writing, they would stand

on a par with the women of any part of the world. In this prohibition is to be found the real cause of their degradation.

With a view to show that the females of Bengal are not such galley-slaves as some represent them to be; that they are not always ruled over with an iron sceptre; that they have their leisure and their recreations; and that, to dissipate the tedium and languor of their illiterate life, they, in common with the males, have recourse to amusements, we shall mention some of their games and sports. We do not wish to present the reader with the details of the juvenile plays of the girls of Bengal; of their *Dolls*, not certainly the most graceful of their race; of *Bow-Bow*, in which the mysteries of marriage are emblematically represented; of *Hide-and-seek*, known to children in all parts of the world; of the *Blind men*, or squeezing of the eyes; of *Fùl-kùti*, in which the dexterity of the fingers is exhibited; and of that large class of plays in which the recitation of doggerel verses forms a principal part, such as *Agádum-Bágadum*, &c.: these and such like plays shall be passed over.

When females attain to the age of puberty, and are transferred from the paternal roof to that of their husbands, they commence a busy life. Early in the morning, in the houses of the middling class, for we speak not of the wealthy minority, females may be seen busy with domestic affairs. One may be seen with a vessel in her hand, containing a mixture of water and cow's dung, industriously engaged in sprinkling the fragrant contents on the mud-floor and yard, with a view to ceremonial purification; another, with a palmyra, or cocoanut broomstick, sweeping every part of the house; a third, hastening to a neighbouring tank to cleanse and wash all the brazen pots of the family; while a fourth—the cook of the family—is preparing for morning ablutions. The morning work over, while the cuisinier plies her task in the heated kitchen, the other females bathe in an adjacent pool, and bring each a vessel of water for the supply of the family. The males—the lords of creation—are feasted first, on whom their wives and mothers attend. It ought to be remarked in passing, that attendance at the table is not regarded by the Bengalis as a servile occupation, that office being usually performed by elderly matrons and Brahmins. After the males and the children have eaten, the self-denying and modest women help themselves to their morning meal, which takes place in the middle of the day. Their meal over, they repair to their dormitories, and betake themselves to

Tired nature's sweet restorer—balmy sleep :

and, before engaging in their evening work, which is slight compared with their morning portion, amuse themselves with one or other of the following games.

*Ashtá-Kashte.* This game is played on a board of twenty-five squares, with sixteen pieces of small *cowries*, which are placed on four sides of the figure. For regulating the moves of the pieces, four large *cowries*, instead of dice, are used. The pieces have all the same uniform motion. The throws are only five in number—the *un, deux, trois, quatre, and huit*; the first is technically called *Kashte* and the last *Ashtá*—whence the name of the game. It is played by four individuals, and is said to be finished, when all the pieces, traversing through the length and breadth of the board, enter into the central square—the heaven of rest and undisturbed repose; and those persons, whose pieces first attain to this position, are considered to be the winners of the game.

*Mangal Patán.* It is not a little remarkable that the females of the most unwarlike nation upon earth should delight themselves with the image of war. The fair ladies of England must, in this instance, at least yield to their dark sisters on the banks of the Bhágirathi the palm of superiority. Which of the ladies, we ask, who are so thoroughly initiated into the mysteries of the polka and crochet, ever conducted with consummate generalship a Mongol or a Patán army? Britain may boast of a Boadicea, France of a Joan of Arc, and Russia of a Catherine: but the females of Bengal are all Amazons, who display their martial abilities on the well-foughten field within the precincts of their gloomy zenanas. The game of *Mangal Patán* is a real military pastime; it is the representation of a battle between the Mongols and the Patáns. The battle-field is accurately drawn, consisting of sixteen squares: within this figure is inscribed a large square. On one side is ranged the Mongol army in a triangular form, and on the opposite side the Patán army. Each army consists of sixteen pieces, the moves of which are regulated, not by chance, but by the skill of the players. It is less ingenious than chess, inasmuch as the moves of the pieces are uniform. The fascination, nevertheless, which this less complicated game produces on the softer sex, is fully equal to that exerted on more robust minds by the pastime called *par excellence* royal.

*Das-Panchish* is another favourite game of native women. Its board is similar to that of the *Páshá*: the moves of the pieces, which are sixteen in number, are however regulated, not

by three dice, but by seven cowries, thrown either on the floor, or against an inclined plane. The throws are two, three, four, six, ten, twelve, and twenty-five, the game deriving its name from two of them, ten (*Das*) and twenty-five (*Panchish*). This play is as animated as the *Páshá*; the long-veiled women of Bengal rivalling the noisy eloquence of the fish-wives of Billingsgate. The long duration of the play, the fascination which it produces, the warmth of feeling which animates the opposing combatants, and its similarity to the genteel *Páshá*, render it one of the most favourite games of the females of Bengal.

*Bhág Bandhi*, or the tiger enclosed, is another favourite pastime. Although the worthy males of Bengal have not either the courage and bodily activity, or the inclination to attack in their lairs the wild beasts of the forest, yet their wives, behind the *Purdah*, amuse themselves with the image of a tiger-hunt.

The figure, commonly employed for playing the game, is composed of two triangles, united together in the middle by a big square. The tiger of the game occupies one of the triangles, and the goats, whose number is variable, the other triangle and a part of the square. The tiger springs upon and devours a good number of the goats, but is eventually pushed to a corner, whence it is impossible to escape. Sometimes this game is played with two tigers, and proportionately large number of goats; but the tigers are in the issue ensnared. Sometimes, also, the *Bhág Bandhi* is played in the figure of the Mangal Patán; but in all cases the female hunters capture their game.

Passing over some games of minor importance, we conclude the Hindu female games with remarking, that the women of Bengal are by no means unacquainted with playing-cards. To avoid misrepresentation, it is also necessary to remark that the games, which we have ascribed to females, are not peculiar to them: they are also played by Hindu males.

The games of the peasantry of Bengal will now engage our attention. If any Bengali sports require muscular activity and frequent locomotion, almost all of them are confined to the peasantry. Addicted to works dependent on physical energy, and accustomed to exposure in the fields, their sports and games partake of their general activity. The peasantry of every country, owing to the simplicity and naturalness of their habits, must always be an interesting class. Plain in their manners, unsophisticated in their judgments, and uncorrupted with the vices of meretricious refinement, they form, as it were, a transition-link between the old and the new worlds of fashion, and

serve to mark the progress of society. The *ryots* of Bengal are as interesting a class of people as any peasantry in the world. Amongst them is to be found a vast deal of the simplicity of olden times; and some of the social virtues, which they exercise, entitle them to our respect and admiration. But they have been greatly abused: systematic oppression from time immemorial has paralyzed their energies, deprived them of their native manliness, and reduced them to the ignoble condition of slaves. Their own countrymen have proved to be their cruellest oppressors and most inveterate foes. The zemindar's *hacheri* is the scene of the *ryots*' degradation, where he is derided, spat upon, and treated as if he were the veriest vermin of creation. [Let us turn] however, at present, from these unpleasant and melancholy reflections to a brief consideration of their games and sports, of which, although divested of every thing else that makes life comfortable, the rapacity of iron-hearted landlords has not been able to deprive them.

*The Sling.* No person can have gone one day's journey from the metropolis of British India without observing almost every shepherd or cowherd boy provided with a sling and stones, not unlike the great shepherd-king of Judah in his youthful days. The herdsmen of Bengal may be seen in the fields, vying with one another in throwing stones to the greatest distance by means of their rudely made slings.

We pass over *Kite-flying*, the almost universal amusement of old and young, male and female, Mussulman and Hindu; as, except in the construction of the kite, it differs in nothing from the English game.

In the cool of the afternoon a company of youthful herdsmen may often be observed under the grateful shade of a large banian tree, pacing across the ground with great activity. They are playing at *Hádu-Gudu*. This simple pastime of the children of the sun does not require many words to describe it. On the bare ground a line is drawn by a pots-herd, on two sides of which the opposing combatants are ranged. The sport begins with an individual of one party transgressing the line of separation, and encroaching on the territories of the other. The transgressor with his body bent, his hands performing a variety of evolutions, attempts in one breath to strike his enemies: the continuity of the breath being ascertained by a sound which he makes. His enemies are on the alert to avoid his touch, which is said to be attended with complete disablement, or, in the phraseology of the play, perfect death. Should he succeed in striking an opponent, and in crossing the line to his own side

in one breath, the opponent is said to die, and, separating from the rest of his companions, retires from the field; but should the striking invader lose his breath before crossing the line, the struck opponent is not disabled. Should the transgressor be seized by his opponents, and he lose his breath on their side of the line, he is disabled and is said to die; but should he succeed, when caught, in shoving himself during the same breath to the dividing line, he is not disabled. The sport concludes when the last combatant of either party is disabled. The number of the players is not fixed; sometimes four, and sometimes fifty, persons may be seen engaged in this sport. The eagerness of the hostile parties, the swift evolutions of the hands, the agility of foot, the recitation of doggerel verses during the performance, the strategy of the combatants, and the loud bursts of laughter which attend the disablement of the opponents, render this sport one of peculiar glee and animation.

*Dándá-guli* is the bat-and-ball of the Bengalis. The *Dándá* is a stout stick two feet long, and the *Guli* stouter still of the size of half a span. The sport resembles bat-and-ball in so many respects, that it is unnecessary to describe it. There are five ways of playing at *Dándá-guli*, the names of which we put down for the gratification of the curious—*Háral*, *Nama-sudra*, *Eri-dari*, *Ekú-duku*, and *Kai-kátá*. At the festival of the first fruits in the month of November, and at the *pújah* of the goddess of wisdom in the month of January, boys, young men, as well as old men, go in together in merry groups, and partake of the pleasures of this exciting sport.

*Wrestling* is by no means uncommon among the peasantry of Bengal. In all seasons, but especially in the winter, they wrestle together on the out-skirts of a village. The *stadium* of the Bengali wrestlers is usually a small space of ground under a tree, whither the candidates repair in the mornings or the evenings. Unlike the athletes in the Olympic stadium, who wrestled in the eye of assembled Greece, and had their names heralded forth throughout the length and breadth of that glorious land, the wrestlers of Bengal are unobserved and unapplauded except by their rustic comrades. The wrestling over, the simple peasants throw themselves into an adjacent tank or brook, wash their soiled bodies, and not unfrequently crown the amusements of the day with a swimming match. Gambling, to a small extent, obtains among the peasantry, but is so infrequent, that it hardly observes notice.

Bain-fights in the villages of Bengal have nothing of the

atrocities of Spanish bull-baitings or English bear-beatings of former days. We have heard of the natives amusing themselves with the fights of elephants and buffaloes; but these are few and far between. Rams fed with great care and attention in various parts of the country are made to knock at each other for the diversion of the people. Two persons, each provided with a ram, stand several hundred yards from each other; they both let go the rams at the same time, who meet each other in the middle of the area with a tremendous shock of their horns.

*Búl-búl fights* must not escape our attention. These little birds are collected in multitudes and trained to wag their heads and fight with each other. Some of the wealthy Millionaires of Calcutta are passionately fond of this amusement. Their gardens for whole weeks together are crowded with spectators from Calcutta and its immediate vicinity to witness these Lilliputian fights.

From the list of the amusements of the Bengalis, *Jugglery* should not be excluded. The worthy personages, who play hocus-pocus tricks, are not natives of Bengal; most of them come from Southern India, and a few only from the Western Provinces. The juggling tricks of those, who deceive the credulous Bengalis of the nineteenth century, are far inferior in ingenuity to those exhibited by the *Tragetours* of the fourteenth century witnessed by Chaucer, who, it is said, could produce water in a large hall with boats rowed up and down upon it, make flowers to spring up as in a meadow, and cause a vine to flourish and bear red and white grapes, and dissipate the conjured scene by their mystic wand. The Bengali *Bájhars* (so the jugglers are called) are men of inferior pretensions. They content themselves with exhibiting sleights of hand. They convert a pice into a mango, a plum into a cowrie. They create an egg in an empty bag, and cause a dead goat to drink water. They can dance upon a rope, vomit fire, and sometimes thrust a knife through a man's neck without injuring it—which may be reckoned their *chef-d'œuvre*. There are juggling women, who, unacquainted with the higher mysteries of the occult science, are only proficient in showing in their own gums a variety of *teeth*—teeth of monstrous size. The *Bájhars* pretend to work out the transformations of bodies by the magical influence of a piece of bone, which they carry about with them.

In connection with this subject, it may not be unacceptable to the reader to make a remark on those yellow-dressed strollers, who pretend to draw out snakes from their holes by



charming them with a peculiar music. Sir W. Jones, in his dissertations before the Asiatic Society, remarks that a learned native of this country had told him that he had frequently seen the most venomous and malignant snakes leave their holes upon hearing tunes on a flute, which gave them peculiar delight. Whether serpents have been ever charmed by music at any time, we shall not take upon ourselves to determine: but this we may be allowed to say, on the ground of our own individual experience and observation, that the pretended charmers, who walk about the streets of Calcutta, with bones of snakes and musical instruments in their hands, are great rogues and cheats. Snakes do certainly make their appearance, when the flutes are played upon: but they belong to the charmers themselves, who carry them in a bag carefully concealed beneath the waist, and which they adroitly cast on the ground, pretending that they came out of their holes. These juggling rogues also play at what is called *Tubri*. They pretend to be able, by their incantations, to endow a particle of dust, or a mustard-seed with the miraculous power of stupifying a person at whom it is struck. With these charmed particles, they strike at each other, and fall into fits of torpor to the infinite amazement of the unthinking mob.

From hocus-pocus tricks, we pass on to what may not be improperly termed the elegant amusements of the Bengalis.—

*Music.* Says the prince of poets:—

“The man that hath no music in himself,  
Nor is not moved with concord of sweet sounds,  
Is fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils;  
The motions of his spirit are dull as night,  
And his affections dark as Erebus:  
Let no such man be trusted.”

The Bengali may then be trusted, for there is certainly music in him of whatever sort. The husbandman in the fields, the pedlar with his pack, the grinder at the mill, the waggoner on his cart—all whistle and sing. [Of instrumental music, there is not any lack. While we write, our ears are regaled with the choral symphonies of the *tom-toms* of a marriage procession; and the sounds of musical instruments may be heard at any time in any part of Bengal. But what is the character of their music—both vocal and instrumental? We do not speak here of ancient Hindu music, which, according to Sir W. Jones, was by no means contemptible. It would appear from his learned essay on the musical modes of the Hindus, that music was diligently cultivated in ancient times in India, and that there were four musical systems prevalent, viz., those of *Iswara*,

*Bharat, Hanumát, and Kálináth.* But whatever may have been the musical attainments of the ancient Hindus and of the modern amateur performers of Delhi, who are said to be exquisite musicians, the music of the Hindus of Lower Bengal at the present day is wretched to the last degree. We do not profess to be connoisseurs; but if harmony be an essential ingredient of music, or rather constitute music itself, nine-tenths of the performances of the Bengalis do not deserve that sacred name. To extract one particle of harmony from a vast deal of their music, is as hopeless as to extract sun-beams out of cucumbers. What music there may be in the Babel discord of *tom-toms, dhols, &c.*, it is impossible for us to determine; and these, it should be remembered, constitute that general music, in which the majority of the people delight. That there is some really good music in the country, it would be unjust to deny; but all of it is learnt from Upper India, whither it was imported, we suppose, from Persia. The *Viná* is a good musical instrument; but how many Bengalis can successfully play upon it? We never could relish that pumpkin of a musical instrument, dignified with the appellation, *par excellence*, of *Tánpurá*, as if it was an harmonicon of the sweetest notes in existence. Young Bengal has, of late, ventured to say that Bengali music is better than European music, and that the latter is remarkably devoid of harmony. To be sure; for who in his sober senses would ever prefer the shrill piano-forte to the sweet-toned tom-tom?

*Dancing.* "Music and dancing," says an eloquent French dancing master, "are kindred arts; the tender and harmonious accents of the one excite and produce the agreeable and expressive motions of the other; and their union entertains the eye and ear with animated pictures of sentiments; these two senses again convey to the heart the interesting images which affect them; while the heart, in its turn, communicates them to the mental faculty: thus the pleasure, resulting from the harmony and intelligence of these two arts, enchants the spectator, and fills him with the most seducing pleasures of voluptuousness." Such grandiloquence is natural to a French ballet-master; but who could have expected the following from the grave English metaphysician, Locke? "Nothing appears to me," says he, "to give children so much confidence and behaviour, and so to raise them to the conversation of those above their years, as dancing." John Bull has, indeed, been always fond of dancing. Says an old poet:—

"The priestes and clerkes to daunce have no shame,  
The frere or monks in his frocke and cowle,  
Must daunce; and the doctor lepech to play the foole."

[Bengalis, however, are not much addicted to dancing.] Plato reduces Greek dances into three classes, the *military*, the *domestic*, and the *mediatorial*, or religious : the object of the first was the invigoration of the body ; that of the second agreeable recreation ; and the third was used for religious purposes. [The Bengalis being an unwarlike nation, military dances cannot reasonably be expected to exist among them. The village chowkidars, however, some of whom are no mean proficient in fencing and *lattyng*, practise a species of pyrrhic dance, of which there are no less than seven sorts. Domestic dances, properly so called, do not exist amongst the people ; for it is considered highly atrocious for a woman of good-character to dance. Though the Bengalis neither dance themselves, nor make their wives and sisters do so for their amusement ; yet they do not hesitate to entertain themselves with *nâches*, in which prostitutes, chiefly Hindustani women, are employed to dance.] It would be difficult to find words sufficiently expressive of the licentious nature of these *nâches*. No man, who has any moral delicacy, can witness them without horror. Yet Bengalis of all names and ranks enjoy these impure dances with enthusiasm ; and we are sorry to add that some Europeans, also Christians by profession, encourage and take delight in them. [On religious festivals of high excitement, such as the Kâli Pujah, *Shâkta* Brahmins, reeling with intoxication, dance away before the bloody *Shyâmâ* : and dancing forms an integral part of the devotion of the Vaishnavas.]

*Bengali Drama.* The elegant amusement of dramatic representation has been always prevalent amongst all ingenious people. The noble tragedies of Æschylus, Euripides, and Sophocles, and the comic burlesques of Aristophanes, gave as much pleasure to the Athenians, as the matchless plays of Shakespeare did, and still do, to the English. India, in her high and palmy state, had also a dramatic literature of her own, and scenic representations to gratify the people. Of the ancient Hindu drama, some notice was taken in the last number of this periodical ; we shall not therefore allude to it at all, but proceed to make a remark or two on the state of the drama as it now exists among the Bengalis.

[Of the execrable representations, called *Jâtrâs*, we dare not give here a detailed description ; they are wretched from the commencement to the fifth act. The plots are very often the amours of Krishna, or the love of *Bidyâ* and *Sundar*. In the representations of the Krishnâ-jâtrâ, boys, arrayed in the habit of *Sakhis* and *Gopinis* (milk-maids), cut the principal

figure on the stage. It would require the pencil of a master-painter to pourtray the killing beauty of these fairies of the Bengali stage. Their sooty complexion, their coal-black cheeks, their haggard eyes, their long-extended arms, their gaping mouths, and their puerile attire, excite disgust. Their external deformity is rivalled by their discordant voices. For the screechings of the night-owls, the howlings of the jackals, and the barkings of dogs that bay the moon, are harmony itself compared with their horrid yells. Their dances are in strict accordance with the other accessories. In the evolutions of the hands and feet, dignified with the name of dancing, they imitate all postures and gestures calculated to soil the mind and pollute the fancy.

The principal actors during the interludes are a *mather*, who enters the stage with a broomstick in his hand, and cracks a few stupid jests, which set the audience in a roar of laughter; and his brother *Bhulúá*, who, completely fuddled, amuses the spectators with the false steps of his feet.

Akin to the *Játrás* is the *Pácháli*, which is nothing more than the recitation of a story in measured lines, accompanied with singing and music. The stories recited are generally taken from the Hindu Shastras, as the marriage of *Siva*, the battle of *Kurukshetra*, the lamentation of *Rádhá*, and such like; but sometimes also original stories of an immoral tendency are recited. Of late the *Pácháli* has become very fashionable, and is annually celebrated in Calcutta on a grand scale. There are many *Pácháli*-versifiers now living: but the palm of superiority is certainly due to *Dásurathi Ráya*, a native of the district of Burdwan, whose poems already amount to several volumes. The *Half-A'krais* too have of late become fashionable, especially in the metropolis: these are distinguished from the *Páchális* by more animated music and singing. During the *Durgá Pujah* celebrations, bands of *Half-A'krai* and *Pácháli* singers may be seen marching through the streets of Calcutta, with their flags hoisted, singing loud pæans of victory.

Our enumeration of the amusements of the Bengalis would be incomplete, if we made no mention of the *Kavis*, which deserve a place in this list, not because of their intrinsic importance, but because of the vast influence they exert, and the great attractions they possess for nine-tenths of the people of Bengal. *Kavi*, in the original Sanskrit, means a poet: but how this honourable appellation came to be applied to a crew of half-witted poetasters and songsters, it is difficult to say. A band of *Kavis* or *Kávi-walas*, as they are oftener called, is composed of

a number of songsters of different castes, leagued together under a leader, who gives name to the association. The leader may be a Brahmin, a confectioner, or of any caste. The *animus* of the *Kavis* is rivalry. Two bands under different leaders vie with each other in winning the applause of the audience. Their songs in the first instance celebrate the loves of Krishná and Rádhá, or the praises of the bloody goddess, Káli ; but, these over, they indulge in songs of the most wanton licentiousness, and crown the whole with calling each other bad names. So far for the matter ; the manner of singing is one of which Young Bengal may well be ashamed. *Kavis* must be seen, heard, and tested in order to be known and appreciated. The houses of some of the rich Babus of Calcutta are annually the scenes of these disgraceful exhibitions. Others have got heartily tired of them, and have substituted the less barbarous, but not the less immoral, *natches*. But the *Kavis* are in high repute in the Mofussil ; and women, from behind the screens, may be observed greedily devouring their licentious effusions. The *Jhumurs*, or bands of female *Kavi-walas*, are nearly extinct.

We conclude this imperfect sketch, in the hasty drawing up of which some games and amusements may have escaped our notice, with expressing our hope, that with the progress of improvement and the diffusion of sound and useful knowledge, the sports and recreations of the people of Bengal will be more polished and rational than they now are. Games and amusements are but exponents of the national character ; when a change is effected on the latter, the former will alter of themselves.

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ART. V.—*Life of Sir Thomas Munro. By the Revd. J. R. Gleig. 1 Vol. A new Edition, revised and condensed from the larger Biography. London. 1849.*

- \* THIS is an improved edition of a standard Anglo-Indian biography. Compared with the old one, it has gained in value almost as much as it has lost in size. A mass of trivial and distracting details encumbered the original work. These dead branches, which only injured the vigorous trunk, have now been lopped away, and the various passages of the hero's life, formerly intermingled and confused, have now been separated with perspicuous arrangement, and presented as so many "tableaux vivants," forming an harmonious whole. But in both editions, much that is valuable has been omitted, apparently to make room for much that is mere lumber. We could have remained contentedly ignorant of Munro's notions regarding chit-chat, novels, love, society and such like, which are given at length in these volumes. But we confess that we should like to know how it was that he carved out the destiny, resuscitated the energies, and elevated the character of all the districts successively entrusted to his charge, which matters are not explained in either of the two editions. A number of extracts from the despatches of the Home and Local Governments are paraded and marshalled out, just like a string of certificates, to shew what almost national blessings were showered on the people by Sir Thomas Munro, and what fostering influences were evoked by his good genius. But it seems rather hard that we should not be told how all this was managed. His great fiscal and economical measures are left to be precariously indicated by casual hints, dropped during the course of private correspondence. Yet these said measures have been lucidly described in his official statements: and why should not extracts from these statements be given? Or even if the extracts should be found too long for insertion, why should not their substance have been set forth shortly and clearly? To the first edition there is subjoined an appendix, consisting of state papers: but the selection does not appear to have been very judiciously made. Several of these papers are comparatively unimportant: while the interesting treatises, which formed a goodly portion of the famous "Fifth Report,"\* have been denied a place. Moreover,

\* Fifth Report of the Committee of the House of Commons on Indian affairs, 1812. This Report is a mine of useful information. Some of Munro's best fiscal statements were reprinted in the appendix to the Report.

when writing the memoirs of a man, who so personally identified himself with the prosperity of the districts he ruled, it became almost requisite for the biographer to touch upon the history, peculiarities and condition of these provinces. This task, which would have been worthy of an author who was at that very time preparing a history of British India, and had all the best materials ready to his hand, was not even attempted, and was, indeed, disclaimed in the preface to the first edition. We shall endeavour (as far as our imperfect materials may permit) to supply this deficiency. And before discussing the several measures and the policy that distinguished Sir Thomas Munro's career, we shall succinctly trace the past fortunes of the districts, which from first to last fell under his beneficent administration.

Sir Thomas Munro's official life was spent entirely within the confines of the ancient Empire of Bijayanugur. This kingdom, embracing, as it did, the whole southern peninsula, exceeded perhaps in extent and splendour all the monarchies which were formed by Rajpút dynasties of "Solar" or of "Lunar" lineage.\* Antiquarian research has shown that here was the seat of the best and earliest Hindu civilization. Here reigned the Sovereigns, whose "insatiable benevolence" has been rendered immortal by the glowing eloquence of Burke. Here was the face of the country covered with tanks, dykes, reservoirs, pagodas, and choultries. Here were the cities, whose grand remains have been alike celebrated by the verse of Southey, the popular prose of Heber, and the artistic delineations of Lord Valentia. Here was the great capital, "the city of Victory," (Bijayanugur), whose living greatness was attested by foreign travellers of all creeds and nations, by Cæsar Frederick, by the Turkish Abdurizak, by the Italian Bartema. This was the last great Hindu state that yielded to an alien conqueror. The flood-gates of Mussulman invasion had been opened upon India. Hindustan Proper and Bengal had sunk beneath the overwhelming tide. The sister kingdoms of Delhi, Kanouj, Ayudya, and Magadha had fallen. But Bijayanugur still remained unscathed. Again the swelling waves of conquest began to roll southward. The storm burst upon Central India; and the Bahmani Padshahs were enthroned in the Deccan. Bijayanugur, however, still stood firm: and even these children of fortune and adventure, whose talents and courage had raised them from serfdom to sovereignty—even they dreaded the might of this empire, and the valour of its kings. Mussulman soldiers were glad to render

\* All Rajpúts believed themselves sprung originally either from the Sun or the Moon. See Tod's account of the mythology of Rajahstan.

homage to, and serve in the ranks of, the infidel Rajahs.\* But that, which no single enemy could dare, was accomplished by union. A potent league was formed by the Bahmani kings of Golconda, Ahmednugur, Bijapur and Beeder, for the annihilation of Bijayanugur. One of the hardest battles in Indian history was fought at Talicota, A. D. 1565. The army of Bijayanugur was defeated, the capital sacked, the kingdom subverted.

But although the centralization of the empire had been broken up, yet the separate portions (like the "*disjecta membra poetæ*") still retained their distinctive features and pristine independence. The regal descendants retired into an ambitious seclusion, there to preserve the glorious annals of their fallen race, to cherish aspirations, and to meditate schemes for its future restoration. Among the separate principalities, which then rose up from among the ruins of the parent state, was the kingdom of Mysore. At length, under the auspices of the Mussulman usurpers of Mysore, were again fused and concentrated the component parts of the old empire of Bijayanugur. Province after province were added to the Mysore dominions by the great father and still greater son, Hyder and Tippoo. Among the predatory incursions of these two royal robbers, Tippoo's invasion of Annagundi was specially marked by reckless cruelty. Annagundi was the modern Bijayanugur, though of course shorn of its former honors, "reft of its sons, midst all its foes forlorn." Tippoo attacked the city, levelled what little there remained of Bijayanugur with the dust, slaughtered the inhabitants, and burned the records. Well might the seers of Annagundi, as an omen of his own coming fate, have apostrophized him with "Ruin seize thee, ruthless king." Hyder, having averted the destruction threatened by the Mahratta hordes, resolved to measure swords with the British. The result of that contest we need not state. We shall merely note, that at the close of the campaign of 1792, Hyder was forced to cede to the British the province of Salem or Bara-mahal, and to restore the territory that had been conquered from the Nizam of Hyderabad (the ally of the British), namely the Balaghât districts. When Seringapatam fell in 1799, among the territories acquired by the conquerors at that epoch, was the province of Canara, which had been conquered by Hyder in 1763. The Balaghât districts were eventually ceded to the British by the Nizam in 1800, in satisfaction of his debts to the Company. The three provinces

\* Brigg's Ferishta.



of Bara-mahal or Salem, Canara, and Balaghát have been thus specially noticed, because they were to form the scene of Munro's future labours. The extensive country whose history we have thus endeavoured to sketch, had of course passed through almost as many changes in system as changes in rulers. Various were the methods employed by the ancient kings of Bijayanugur for the administration of their wide spread dominions. Many of the distant and newly conquered regions were formed into satrapies, and ruled by subordinate Rajahs, who furnished contingents or subsidies to the Central Government. Many are the stories of the tributary kings, whose retinues adorned the court and camp at Bijayanugur, who were constituted lords of the bedchamber to the Sovereign, who held his majesty's umbrella, waved his fan, and carried his betelnut. Those tracts, which formed the original appanage of the crown, continued all along to be administered directly by the Sovereign. The results of this administration, as far they can be estimated by external signs of prosperity, we have already noticed. The taxation was mild and equitable. The institute and pandects of Harahar Rai had been universally obeyed; and the spirit of the dictum of the legislator Vidyaranya, that "the king, who took more than one sixth of the produce of the land from the proprietor, should be deemed infamous in this world, and cast into hell-flames in the next," had been generally acted upon. The collections were made in kind and not in money. Proprietorship in land was recognised by the Government, and real property was both saleable and rentable. In all provinces, whether administered directly by the Sovereign, or indirectly by a feudal Suzerain, village institutions and local self-government were maintained.

In troubled times, a feudal system would naturally be strengthened and extended. Accordingly, during the political convulsions, which ensued upon the overthrow of Bijayanugur, a class of feudatories, resembling the lords of the marches in English history, rapidly rose into importance, and in after times, under various names, such as Poligars, Jaghirdars, Nairs, &c., became thorns in the side of the British conquerors. But as the growing kingdom of Mysore began to absorb all the neighbouring nations in the whirlpool of invasion, the power of these local chieftains was for a time broken by Hyder and Tippoo. These two Sultans proclaimed, that the Sovereign was sole lord of the soil, and sedulously addressed themselves to the task of extirpating all proprietary occupants of every grade. Having succeeded in driving away most of the feudal lords, Hyder farmed out the revenues of his dominions to Amildars,

or satraps of his own. These worthies were empowered to collect whatever they could, as long as they paid their contract money to the Sultan; moderate terms were generally allowed them. But Hyder, by means of secret service agency, kept himself well informed of their proceedings; and, when he was assured that any Amildar had amassed a large fortune from the profits of his contract, summoned him to court and forced him to disgorge, by squeezing him like a full sponge. Tippoo, with his passion for change (a destructive radical in modern parlance) reversed all this. The Amildars were supplanted by Asufs and Tuhsildars, invariably Mussulmans, and often selected from the dregs of society. These gentlemen collected fixed rates in kind, transmitted the proceeds to the Sultan's treasury, and received regular salaries. This system was on the whole rather worse for the people, and much worse for the government. A system of collection in kind must generally engender speculation; and, in the Mysore dominions, a host of fiscal harpies preyed on the vitals of the country. It has been calculated that rarely more than 60 per cent., on the fixed revenue, and often not more than 50 or even 40 per cent., found its way into Tippoo's coffers. The Mysore armies were rarely composed of feudal contingents, but usually of troops receiving pay from the state treasury. The Sultan's attention was bent rather on fortifications, than on operations of agricultural utility; and the grand works of former dynasties were suffered to decay under the wasting influence of war.

We have thus touched upon the eventful annals of the three provinces, which were destined to be ruled by Munro. We have shown how they first belonged to the kingdom of Bijayanugur; then to that of Mysore; and lastly to the British empire. We can now deal with each province in detail, and with the results of British administration therein.

Salem, or the Bara-mahal first claims notice, inasmuch as Munro here commenced his official career. At the subversion of the Bijayanugur empire, this district, with several others, was granted by the victors to the descendants of the conquered Rajahs, who, it will be remembered, resided at Annagundi. When this last domain was torn away from them, the Bara-mahal for a short time fell into the hands, first of a powerful Poligar, then of the Cuddapah Nawab, till it was annexed by Hyder to Mysore. This series of invasions had pretty well crushed and "pulverised" the proprietors of the soil: and, when the British government assumed charge, all the agricultural classes had been reduced to the same level of indigence and depression. The people were represented as too poor to grow the better

kind of crops, such as cotton, sugar, or indigo. Munro, in one of his private letters, says, "The average rent of the whole body of farmers (i. e., cultivators or tenants) is not more than ten pagodas each. I am pretty sure there is not a man among them who is worth £500, and that, exclusive of their cattle, nine-tenths of them have not got £5." Captain Alexander Read, with several assistants, among whom was our hero, Lieut. Munro, were deputed to settle the province. Their settlement was essentially ryotwar, and may be looked upon as a *chef d'œuvre* of its kind. The system of course emanated from Captain Read. Munro and his colleagues reduced it to practice. The state was held to be the sole landlord. No proprietary right was recognised as belonging to any individual, not even the right of occupancy. All intermediate farmers, located by former governments, and all hereditary fiscal officers, were removed. No third or fourth estates were admitted as members of the body politic. There were recognised but two estates, the crown and the cultivator. The lands of each tenant were re-let on fresh terms every year.\* The rents were assessed at 45 per cent on the gross produce of the soil. The "Village system" was ignored. The plan of assessing the revenue of a village, and leaving the occupants and sharers in the estate to distribute the sum among themselves after their own fashion, was abolished. Each man was entitled to a separate assessment for his particular fields, and was taught to look up to the collector as his only liege lord. The revenue authorities, however, did so far acknowledge the different villages as fiscal divisions, inasmuch as they reserved to themselves the right of holding the whole village jointly responsible for individual defalcations. But it does not appear that this right was ever exercised carefully. Surveys and detailed measurements were made in order that no field might elude the lynx-eyed vigilance of the taxing officer. A verbal description of a system like this is easily given; but the idea is with difficulty realised or adapted to European modes of thought. Can the reader picture to himself an European collector in the position of a middleman in a myriad of estates, the agricultural patriarch of a million of people? There are no farmers in the English sense of the term, no sub-division of labour, no capital. Each husbandman and his wife (for there

\* "It is the universal custom in India, wherever collections are made in kind, that the proprietor should take one-half the gross produce from the cultivator. In these parts of Europe, where rents are collected in kind, the same custom prevails. For instance, the Medietarii of the Roman Empire paid one half, and so do the Metayers of Modern Italy, of Tuscany and Naples, of France and of Modern Greece." Vide Jones on Rent.

the women work harder even than the men) repair to the collector's office, and bargain for their plot of land, consisting perhaps of only a few fields which they can till with one plough and a pair of bullocks, raise a scanty crop with little toil, and just manage to pay their way, or rather keep with body and soul together till the next season—when off they are again to the office on the look out, it may be, for other lands with other rents. The boasted solicitude of “Mrs. Mother-country,” is nothing when compared with the load of “*atra cura*,” which presses on the ryotwar collector. Indeed, as he must be for ever in the saddle, riding about the fields and looking at the crops and pondering over the mysteries of tropical vegetation, the words of the poet become specially applicable, “*Post Equitem sedet atra cura*.” Not a bullock dies, not a plough is broken, not a member of a husbandman's family falls sick,\* not a crop is blighted, but he hears of it all. Our readers all know the immortal advertisement, “Wanted a governess,” which has been paraphrased in this country to the tune of “Wanted an engineer.” The Madras Board of the last century might have advertised for a ryotwar collector as follows; “WANTED A RYOTWAR COLLECTOR!—The candidate must be a practical agriculturist, a steady rider and strong walker, a keen judge of cattle, an experienced land surveyor, a first-rate Vernacular linguist, a sound lawyer, a smart penman and a rare accountant. He must be a good workman and general mason, and understand the mending of agricultural implements, the excavation of wells, the taking of levels, the conducting the least amount of water over the greatest possible amount of surface. He must be versed in the weighing of grain, and must be well informed of the latest prices quoted in the market:—above all, he must have a fine temper, an imperturbable demeanour, and inexhaustible patience. No candidate need apply who has not all the above qualifications.” But, joking apart, the Government of that day not only “wanted” such men, but got them—and turned their services to the best account.

[Such briefly was the ryotwar settlement of Bara-mahal. The various fiscal experiments, of which this province became subsequently the theatre, we pass over in silence, because our hero was not concerned in them. But we will notice one or two features in this settlement to the carrying out of which Munro lent such efficient aid. The operations of Colonel Read and

\* Munro writes, “their families so far from being a burden to them, are a great support. Nothing is more common than to grant a man a remission of rent on the death of his son.” And again he says, “a man complained that his wife had died, who did more work than his best bullock.” Letters, *passim*.

his coadjutors were extolled both in this country and at home, on account of the financial results which had been obtained, the frauds which had been repressed, and the even-handed justice which had been secured to all. The system, admirably administered by these gentlemen as it was, and adapted in many respects to a country just emerging from anarchy, no doubt, did merit such a meed of praise. But it was also distinguished by many tendencies, which the political economist must ever condemn. It absorbed half the produce of the soil, that is all the landlord's profit, leaving nothing to the cultivator but the bare means of subsistence and the means of carrying on husbandry. It subverted all local institutions. It rendered the gradation of classes a nullity, and a chance of individual advancement nearly impossible. Being subject to annual re-adjustment, it deprived the people of all motive to exertion by denying them a beneficiary interest in the soil ; and thus put a stop to private enterprise. In short, it tended to keep the people in a perennial state of national infancy. It might teach an agricultural population to be contentedly helpless and peacefully humble, to remain in that blissful state of ignorance, wherein 'tis folly to be wise ; but it could never lead them on to material wealth, political prosperity, or intellectual progress.]

The circumstances, under which Canara was ceded to the British, have been already stated. Immediately after the cession, Munro was ordered to take charge of the new province. This he did with a heavy heart. He had now been several years in the Bara-mahal. He had become attached to a district, which he described as " a romantic country, in which every tree and mountain has its charms for me." In a subordinate position, and in a country where prosperity and order had been by degrees established, he had found leisure for intellectual converse and studious recreation. All this must now be exchanged for a life of responsible toil and corroding care, in a province which he despaired of raising from the depths of poverty and barbarism. He had also indulged his taste for gardening. But now he was to bid farewell to his graperies, his pine beds, and orange groves. He was to quit the Bara-mahal with its smiling valleys, its tanks and rivulets, and to pitch his tent on the rocky table land and gravelly champagne of Canara, deluged by torrents of never ceasing rain.

[Canara, more properly called Tulava, is a long narrow strip of country, stretching along the Malabar Coast, about 200 miles long and 50 broad ; and intersected by a chain of the Ghât mountains. It originally formed a division of the Malabar

country.] But it must not be confounded with the sister province of Malabar Proper, from which it widely differs in political institutions. [Like Malabar, under the first Hindu monarchy, the lands were chiefly held on a feudal tenure by the martial race of Nairs. But, unlike Malabar, the province had been from the first subjected to a land tax. The kings of Canara filled their treasuries by a moderate land tax and customs duties combined.] The Zamorins of Malabar, from customs and similar taxes alone, supported a regal state, that filled the Portuguese emigrants of the 16th century with amazement. The first recorded conquest of Canara is that by the Pandyan princes of Madura. • The Nairs of course on this occasion fought for their patrimonies with the same spirit, that, some centuries later, cost the British such an infinity of trouble in Malabar. But they were rooted out : and their extirpation marks a social epoch in the history of Canara. In the year 1336, the Bijayanugur monarchs conquered the province from the Pandians, and incorporated it with the larger kingdom of Carnata, or Canara. And thus it was, that the old name of Tulava was exchanged for that of Canara. After the disruption of the Bijayanugur empire, it fell into the hands of the Bednore Rajahs, until it became a prey to the Mysore invader in 1763.

[In this summary of Canarese events, nothing has been said of what might be termed its ecclesiastical history.\*] [We shall not recount the efforts by which the Romish Church aimed to establish an universal proselytism, by accommodating its practices to heathen usage, and by becoming, in a bad sense, all things to all men. Nor need we tell how the seminaries of Goa sent forth Concan priests by the hundreds to gather the people of Canara into the archbishop's fold.] But [one economical result of these Missionary operations (if they may be so called) should be noticed here, namely, the hold upon the land which these Romanized heathens acquired. Native heathens in dress, manner, thought and ideas, they yet owned themselves sons of the Church, and paid homage to the ecclesiastical authority, which centred in the Hierarchy of Goa. But the Romish teaching, though it may not have instilled much pure truth into their minds, yet seems to have disciplined their habits and made them useful citizens. So manifest was their superiority in industry and intelligence over the Hindus and even the native Portuguese, that it soon became an object with the Tulava princes to induce these *soi-disant* Christians to settle on the land. Eighty thousand colonists were thus introduced ; and by

\* Vide Hough's History of Christianity in India.

degrees were vested with all the privileges that attach to landed proprietorship. But a "dies iræ" was at hand. The fury of Tippoo, the arch Iconoclast, burst on their peaceful homes and fertile fields. Their Churches were swept away by the same destroying hand, that had levelled the fairest monuments of Hindu architecture. The Clergy and Laity were driven out together. Some were put to the sword; some were sent to starve on desert islands; some, who embraced Islamism, were allowed to keep their lands; and some were thrown into the dungeons of Seringapatam, there to rot and linger, till the European sword should slay the tyrant and set the captive free. After the fall of Seringapatam, many of these expatriated Christians returned to pray for indemnification at the hands of the British. About 15,000 are said to have returned to Mangalore, one of the principal towns in upper Canara. Munro, in his correspondence, instances the case of 141 Christian proprietors, who had been released from captivity at Seringapatam, and had revisited Canara in the hope of being reinstated in their former possessions.

Such was the province, of which Captain Munro was ordered to develop the resources, and fix the taxation. To the last he never overcame the dislike, which he had imbibed against his new charge. Indeed, the inhospitable region, the poverty of the soil, which would grow nothing but rice and cocoanut, the irregularity of all communication, and the difficulty of marching, were enough to try the temper of most men. Previously to the Mysore Government, the people had been well conducted and well governed. But recent events had sadly demoralized them. Unable to resist the tyranny of the Mysore rulers, they resolved to strike a bargain with their oppressors. Tippoo's officials, when they practised fiscal extortion, were anxious to enrich themselves, and not their Government: and they thought, that, by making common cause with the ryots, they might be able to cheat their employers more effectually. Combinations were accordingly made between the people and the revenue officers to force the sovereign to reduce the taxation. The profits of the reduction were of course shared between the conspiring parties. This junction of forces was too much for the declining energies of the Mysore Government; and, in two or three years, Tippoo's revenue went down fifty per cent. When Munro gave out his determination of ignoring these reductions, and of raising the revenue to the standard at which it had originally stood, a mutinous spirit at once broke out, and an agricultural strike was organized throughout the district. Lands were thrown up, villages deserted, and the doors barred against the revenue peons. Under similar circumstances, the Malabar people betook them-

selves to overt rebellion, and drove the collector clean out of the province. But Munro contrived to manage the Canarese. Some were conciliated; others were punished; and at length the whole mass were brought to terms. Thus, the way was cleared for a settlement.

In adjusting these matters in a newly conquered country, there are always two main questions to be decided: first, what proportion of the gross produce of the soil shall be the limit of the Government demand? Secondly, who is the proprietor of the land?—Government, or the people?—If the latter, who are the parties entitled to engage with Government for the payment of the revenue, and to be recognized in consequence as owners of the soil? In shorter words, the questions may be put thus:—How much shall the Government take, and from whom? On the manner, in which these questions may be decided, will mainly depend the future prosperity of the province. We shall shew, that, in the case of Canara, Munro decided them rightly. Let us take the first question, namely, how much shall Government demand as its share out of the gross produce. The share fixed by the primeval Hindu legislators is one-sixth. This rule originally held good in Canara. The Pandyan conquerors, however, took ten per cent. in addition to this amount; and so did the Bijayanugur kings, until the law-giver, Vidyaranya, arose, and threatened with eternal damnation any prince who should exact more than one-sixth. After his death, however, the Bijayanugur kings remodelled their land-tax. Hitherto the Government share had been paid in kind. This was commuted to a money payment, which they regulated, however, by the old standard of one-sixth. But they enhanced their income by an ingenious device. The priesthood, they said, was entitled to a share. And so in fact it was. This share the crown would collect, and support the sacerdotal establishment. Thus the Bijayanagur monarchs raised their share from one-sixth to one-fourth. Their successors, the Bednore Rajahs, took ten per cent. again in excess of this. Hyder and Tippoo, of course, went upon their usual tack, and exacted the maximum that can be got out of land, namely, one-half the produce. But, after a few years, this plan was defeated, as we have seen, by the conspiracies of the ryots and the revenue officers. But even then, what with payments to the Government and payments to the revenue officers, the people must have paid one-third, or even more. Our readers will now be able to judge of the propriety of Munro's taxation, which was calculated at one-fourth on average estates, one-third on the best estates, and at one-fifth, one-seventh, and



even one-tenth on those estates, which, from impoverishment or from any other cause, might be deemed fitting objects for indulgence. The exact amount of gross produce at any given time it would have been difficult, perhaps impossible, to ascertain. But numberless records turned up in all quarters. The amount realized, annually, under former Governments, and the principles on which that amount had been fixed, were easily discovered. And thus a trustworthy, though approximate, standard was obtained. Moreover, statements had been preserved of the receipts in those days, when payments were made in kind. The rates, at which the landlords had leased their lands, were discovered from the village account books. Thus Munro had seldom any difficulty in ascertaining, for any particular estate, the sum which would be equivalent to one-third, one-fourth, or one-fifth of the gross produce. Viewing all the proportions together, it appears that Munro's taxation fell at the average rate of one-quarter on the gross produce. We have seen that one-quarter was also the share demanded by the best of all the native Governments, namely, that of Bijayanugur. Under that system, cultivation had flourished, the people had lived contentedly, the land had become saleable, had risen in the market, and had been sold at 10, 20, and even 30 years' purchase. Munro might reasonably suppose that the same results would ensue under his system; and hence we may pronounce his arrangements on this point to have been fair and just.

[Let us next take the second question, namely, Who was the proprietor, and from whom was the Government to collect its revenue? From the earliest ages the Canarese had asserted the ownership of their fields. The assertion of this right had been sanctioned by their successive Governments, who, indeed, often ratified the same by royal patents. Every transfer of real property had been scrupulously registered and sacredly preserved. Parchment was frequently considered a too perishable material. The contracts were often inscribed on plates of copper, or engraven on slabs of stone. Well might Munro declare, that in no country of Europe were such title-deeds to be found, as in Canara. All documents, inscriptions, and records were inspected and collated by Munro. Those, who could judicially prove their title to the ownership of the land, were admitted to engage for the revenue. The labour, that this involved, may be imagined from the fact, that, within a year, settlements were made in 45,000 estates. Nor were the cultivators and sub-tenants forgotten. Their holdings were marked out and their rents were fixed with reference to past payments, in order that rack-renting might be prevented

in future. These arrangements were not made for any fixed term, but were to last as long as Government might like to keep them up.

Munro had administered Canara for more than fourteen months, when the Balaghát territory was ceded. Having never overcome his dislike of Canara, he induced the authorities to remove him to the ceded districts. Before following him to his new destination, we would draw the reader's attention to the cardinal points of difference between the systems of Bara-mahal and Canara. In the former the crown was landlord; the people were Metayers; the revenue swallowed up half the produce. In the latter, a distinct class was admitted as standing between the crown and the cultivator; and, in order that this privilege should not be a mere sounding title, a share of one-fourth the produce was allowed as landlord's profit, inasmuch as Government demanded only one-quarter for itself.

Major Munro was appointed to the ceded districts in 1800. These districts formed a compact territory, situated above the great Ghát range (hence the name of Balaghát) and between the rivers Tumbúddra and Kishna. The preceding pages may have helped to show, that few parts of India could be more historically interesting, inasmuch as the ruins of Bijayanugur and Annagundi lay within its limits. When the arms of the league against Bijayanugur were crowned with victory (a league as important to the fortunes of Lower India as the league of Cambray was to those of Italy) the Balaghát territory fell to the share of the Golconda king, whose successors were afterwards better known as the Nizams of Hyderabad. But soon a class of half independent chieftains, named Poligars, sprung up and baffled the efforts of every regular Government. Thus, while the extremities of the Bijayanugur empire formed themselves into orderly principalities, feuds and distractions reigned at the centre. When all the Deccan monarchs owned a nominal allegiance to the Great Mogul, the Balaghát was included in the chart of Aurungzebe's dominions. When that empire was, in its turn, dismembered, and the Mahrattas aspired to universal supremacy, they also demanded tribute from the Nizam's dominions. Whether they always got it or not, we do not venture to affirm. At length Hyder wrested these districts from the Nizam. And when Tippoo in 1793 was forced to give one slice of his dominions to the English, and another slice to their ally, the Nizam, these districts were restored to the latter, by whom again they were ceded to the British in 1800.

Few districts had finer natural advantages, but none had suffered more. For two centuries and a half, the Balaghát had

been the theatre of incessant war. The surface of the earth had been clean swept by destroying armies, till at last scarce a tree reared its head from a bare soil, that had once been crowned with groves and forests. The various Governments had vied with each other in mismanagement. Each successive ruler was worse (if possible) than the last. [The acme of misgovernment, however, seems to have been reached, when the Nizam (in Munro's words) "turned loose a mutinous and unpaid soldiery, at the reaping season, to collect their pay from the villages."

A retrospect of the past, then, was not likely to make the future prospects of the Balaghât look encouraging :—"existing circumstances" made them look still worse. When Munro took charge, gaunt Famine was stalking abroad in the land. From long impunity, the Poligars had become quite rampant in rebellion, and were all up in arms. The resources of the country had been over-rated by the Government, who had been misled by the schedules given in by Tippoo. More therefore was expected of the new territory than it could pay. The Central Board of Revenue distrusted Munro; and an outcry was raised that the revenue was being assessed too lightly. This wore an ugly aspect, in as much as a collector had been lately removed from his appointment, because it was ascertained that his taxation had been too easy. The following passage, from a letter of Munro's to one of the members of the board, shews how much he had to dread being misunderstood :—"If I leave room for my successor to raise the revenue, it would be said that I allowed the people to defraud the Government. If I raise all the country can pay, and he could raise no more, it would be then said that I oppressed the people for the sake of exhibiting a high settlement."

[Shortly afterwards the Mahratta war broke out,] and the Balaghât became one of the main granaries that was to feed the army which fought at Assaye. Thus commissariat duties came crowding thick upon Munro. And all this time he had to counteract with Argus-like watchfulness the intrigues and conspiracies of the Poligars. [In such a state of things, anything like a settlement of the revenue was out of the question. Munro and his assistants travelled about the country, and collected whatever revenue they could. When the country began to recover itself under the healing influence of moderation and order, he made at first what is technically termed, a *Mouzahwari* settlement, that is, the revenue was assessed, not upon individuals, but jointly upon the inhabitants of a *mouzah*, or parish.

But the Poligar question demanded the most earnest atten-

tion. Our readers probably know that a Poligar, the chief of a Pollam or fief, is a feudal lord: The term corresponds to a Baron of the middle ages of Europe.] It is needless here to trace the rise and prevalence of feudal institutions in the South Indian Peninsula. It is enough to say that, in young states, feudalism is a pillar of strength; in old states, an engine of destruction and a precursor of decrepitude. Its worst features were exhibited in the Balaghât country, which abounded with Poligars, and adjoined that part of the Northern Sircars, which was styled, *par excellence*, the Poligar country. These Poligars belonged to three classes. Some were Bijayanugur princes of royal blood; some were the old feudal chiefs of the Bijayanugur sovereigns; others were upstarts, who had been originally the paid governors of districts, and had gradually obtained such a hold and status in their provinces, as enabled them to assume independence. For two centuries they had successfully contended in the cause of anarchy. They now hoped to set the British power at defiance, in the same manner as they had braved every Government since the fall of Bijayanugur. Their own neighbourhood of course they kept in a perpetual state of turmoil. They caballed overtly and covertly with all the foes of the new Government. They joined the Mahratta confederacy, which was annihilated at the battle of Assaye. They fomented the spirit, and fanned the flame, that burst forth at the mutiny of Vellore. It was clear that these worthies must be extinguished in some way or other; and Munro resolved to tame them by conciliation or force. It was declared that all Poligars might keep their Pollams, provided they paid tribute, and collected from the occupants of the land no more than the rent fixed by the collector. They were all to wait upon the collector, as representative of the Government. Those, who did not like to appear in person, might send accredited agents. The majority disobeyed these orders. A force was organized under General Campbell to coerce the recusants. But it was feared that the Poligars, though their retainers might be routed and their forts dismantled, would still be wandering about, like so many firebrands of disturbance, destroying the peace of the country wherever they went. The peasantry were therefore armed and trained so as to form a rustic militia; and a strong body of Police was disciplined to hunt and track out the fugitives in the jungle, as soon as they should have been driven from their strongholds by the regular troops. By the rigorous execution of these measures, the Poligars were effectually crushed before three years were over. Many disappeared. Some were placed in confinement. The majority surrendered,

and were graciously permitted to resign their property, and to languish in the obscurity of private life. Of those, who obeyed from the first, a few were pensioned off, and the rest were allowed to manage their Pollams.

Munro and his assistants had now leisure to push forward their improvement of their province, and to avail themselves of its resources. The Mouzahwari settlement was considered merely as a "pis-aller" for the nonce. The pacification of the country having been effected, a more searching method of taxation was adopted. Every estate and field was surveyed, and soils were classified. A money-rent was fixed for each holding. Proprietorship was not recognized as pertaining to any occupant. For ages in fact, throughout these distracted provinces, there had been no such thing as property in land, or in anything else. Men, who had with difficulty sustained a bare existence, and had thought themselves lucky if they could eat their daily bread in peace, had not the heart to vaunt about rights and property. They therefore claimed nothing: and Munro inferred from this that they had a right to nothing. But the constitution of the villages; the system by which the villagers portioned out their fiscal burdens amongst themselves; the manner, in which they always met for the settlement of their affairs, whenever a lull in the political tempest gave them any breathing time (all which things Munro himself most graphically described) clearly shewed, that here, as elsewhere, proprietary communities had originally existed. That possession is nine-tenths of the law may be a sound maxim; but there are of course limits to its application. It was true, that proprietary right in land had not been exercised for centuries. But neither had similar rights with regard to any thing else been securely exercised. Personal property was not in consequence declared null and void: why then should real property be so declared? In regard to the rate of taxation, the occupants were treated as mere cultivators—the full half share of the produce being demanded by the collector. The system, as administered by Munro, answered wonderfully. The cessation of hostilities, and the suppression of rapine and disorder, not only restored the confidence of those already employed upon the land, but brought a vast number of unemployed hands into the market. Cultivators were induced to flock from all quarters, and to make their homes in the new province. Lands, that had lain fallow ever since the fall of Bijayanugur, were now brought under the plough. By the close of the sixth year since the accession of the Company's rule, the annual rent-roll was raised from ten to seventeen lakhs of star pagodas. We may admire the stirring

energy, that exterminated the enemies of peace. But we should admire still more the under-current of sustained exertion and never-sleeping watchfulness, that, year after year, tended the minutest concerns of the province, till its resources were finally expanded; the accuracy and evenness, with which the fiscal burdens were adjusted, both in years of famine and years of plenty; and the firmness and foresight, with which, in spite of clamorous impatience and envious cavilling, a lenient policy was pursued at first, in the assurance that its expediency would be justified by the abundant results of future years. Whether his theories were right or wrong, the result of Munro's rule in the ceded districts stood forth as a monument of administrative genius. But the loud praises, which were eventually sounded forth by the Home and Local Governments, fell not so pleasantly on his well tuned ear, as the noiseless murmur of gratitude, that swelled, as it rose, from the hearts of a contented people, or as the approving voice of his own conscience, which told him that he had, with Christian\* patience, done his duty in evil report, until at length he was able to do it in good report. The people familiarly called him their "Father." Indeed they had good reason to do so.

[He wound up his administration of the ceded districts by making a praiseworthy proposition to Government, which was however only partially adopted. He recommended that a proprietary title should be conferred on all occupants of land, who paid revenue to Government, and that the present revenue rates should be lowered twenty-five per cent—that is, that the Government share should be reduced from one-half to one-third of the gross produce. The disposal of all uncultivated land Government would reserve to itself. In spite of the immense strides which had been lately made in cultivation, it was supposed that the culturable land still equalled one-third of the cultivated. And it was hoped that this liberal measure might cause all these lands to be brought into cultivation, and the revenue to be raised thirty per cent thereby.]

Such were the proceedings of Colonel Munro in the ceded districts. Having ruled them exemplarily for seven years, he set sail for England. The various high offices, which he filled on his return to India, are well known to the public. But the Balaghát was the last province, of which he was charged with the direct and immediate administration. The most instructive part of his career closes here. [It may] therefore [be not

\* Munro was a sincerely pious man, and his conduct was invariably regulated by religious principle.

amiss to review some of the principles of the public policy, which we have endeavoured to sketch.

We all know that Englishmen carry with them to every clime the "spirit of party," which our home institutions universally engender. And, accordingly, those, who have from choice or profession, studied Indian finance, have loved to combat in the arena of fiscal politics. [While half the Company's servants were contending on the battle-field; the other half were contending in the recesses of the Council Chamber or the study, about the question—Who is the real landlord? This paper warfare has rivalled in skill, power, and pungency, the oral disputations, in which the schoolmen of the middle ages used to indulge.] The result of these gladiatorial exhibitions has been, that a mass of information has been culled and gathered together; that a few ill-fated experiments were made at first; and that eventually a sound and intelligent policy has met with general adoption. [There have been the Crown party, the Ryot party, and the Zemindar party. But these parties merely represent the theoretical extremes, towards which opinions may diverge.] And in this, as in many other disputed matters, it may be safely believed, that those are nearer the truth, who belong to no clique, who extract the pure ore and reject the dross in the opinions of every party, and whom the red-hot advocate of either side would designate "Trimmers."\*

Munro's practice and writings have been constantly appealed to as furnishing evidence on these debated points. Those, who affirm that the crown is sole landlord, and that the ryot has no property in the land, eagerly quote Munro as their chief witness. Now, it is very true that Munro carried out in the Bara-mahal a system, which did not recognize any proprietary right as pertaining to the ryot, and that he asserted the same thing with respect to the ceded districts and the Deccan. But he only held this opinion with regard to these particular localities, and not with regard to India generally. For he not only declared the Canarese ryots to be proprietors; but he also expended especial labour and deep research to prove their titles indisputably. And, during the last year of his life, when from the height of his great position he was surveying the results of his wide experience and splendid career, he recorded his conviction that the Ryot is the real proprietor of the soil: while in the ceded districts, where he believed that the right had become extinct, or perhaps had

\* Those, who have studied the last great narrative of the Revolution, know the full historical significance, which attaches to the epithet—"Trimmer."

never come into regular existence, he recommended that it should be conferred on the ryot.

We have before stated our belief that he need not have hesitated from the evidence before him, to declare that there was such a thing as landed property in this province. But enough has been said to shew that he was one of those, who believe that proprietary rights *are* to be found in India. He seems to have arrived at this most just conclusion, partly from having discovered that landed transfers had been effected generation after generation; partly from what he had seen of the imperishable village communities; and partly from having invariably found the ryot enjoying the privilege of occupation, as long as he continued to pay his revenue. In fact this right of occupation, subject to the payment of a land tax (which is admitted even by a large section of those who deny the ryot's proprietary title), is almost tantamount to ownership. For property of all kinds, and in all countries, is held on the condition, that it shall be liable to taxation. But Munro discarded one of the most valuable sources of evidence upon this subject, namely, the Statute-Books of the ancient Hindu Lawgivers, which have come down to us. The Ryot's proprietary title can certainly be proved out of the mouth of these sages. And why should they not be believed? These books depict manners and customs, the traces of which are discernible to this very day. Their descriptions of political institutions have been marvellously verified by the experience of ages. They may therefore claim confidence, when they enunciate what were the rights and interests in land.

Munro has also been looked upon as an advocate for excessive taxation, and an expounder of the doctrine, that the Crown is entitled to half the gross produce of the land. We are happy to say, that this charge can be completely rebutted, and that there is nothing in his acts or opinions, that can justify such a notion. However, he certainly did think that the ancient taxation in India had been much heavier than is generally supposed. The law-books, which have just been mentioned, declare that the king's share is one-sixth. This Munro disbelieved—we think, unreasonably. The only reason assigned was this, that, if the share had really been no more than one-sixth, the payments would not have been made in kind. This argument has been demolished by several writers, who point to the obvious fact, that in many countries a proportion of one-tenth has been collected in kind. The fact, therefore, that payments were made in kind, is no proof that the taxation must have been heavy, and amounting to some such proportion as one-half. Besides his experience in Canara ought to have furnished him with ample



confirmation of the dictum, that the Hindu monarch's share is one-sixth. Munro, however, asserted theoretically the State's right to a half share only, where, in default of other proprietors, the State was unquestionably the sole landlord—as in the Bara-mahal. And this proposition is not incorrect, provided it can be really shown, that in the particular province the State is the sole landlord, *de facto* and *de jure*. In such a case, the half share collected by the State is not strictly speaking entirely revenue. It is half revenue and half rent: inasmuch as the State stands in the double position of king and proprietor. And the possibility or probability of error lies, not in the amount demanded, but in the fundamental premise, that the State is the sole landlord. The latter proposition is *prima facie*, to our thinking, suspicious, and ought to be strongly substantiated before it can claim acceptance. But if the State is indeed sole landlord, then it may demand the one-half share without any violation of prescriptive custom. In Canara, where he found proprietors, Munro fixed the assessment at one-fourth. In the ceded districts, when he recommended that proprietors should be recognized, he added that the one-half share should be reduced to one-third. There is no doubt that the state cannot consistently demand a one-half share from any proprietor. For then he ceases to be proprietor, inasmuch as the landlord's profits are absorbed in the public revenue. The cultivator must always have one-half. And, if the State takes the other half, what becomes of the proprietor?

On the other hand, it would be hardly correct to assume, that now-a-days, wherever the land is taxed with more than one-sixth, it is burdened more heavily than it used to be under the old Hindu polity. One-sixth was no doubt the king's share. But we believe that the land was also saddled with ecclesiastical charges, which, under the Brahminical system, were considerable. It had also to support more Police establishments than at present. Moreover, the legislators admitted that, in time of war, or any other public emergency, the king might take one-fourth, or even one-third. We have little doubt, therefore, that on the whole the land was charged with payments equalling one fourth of the gross produce. The land-tax, though almost unknown to modern Europe, has been the mainstay of many primeval empires, and of nearly all Asiatic Governments; and the subjoined table\* of its amount

\* The following are works of reference, which may be most easily consulted by any one, who may be disposed to verify the facts and figures of this table:—*Jones on Rent*, *Heeren's Researches*, *Smith's Antiquity*, *Wilkinson's Egypt*, *Brigs on the Land-tax*, *Davis's Chinese*, *Hamilton's Gazetteer*, &c. &c.

in different countries may help to elucidate the point under discussion :—

Persian Empire .....	$\frac{1}{10}$	
Persia (modern).....	$\frac{1}{2}$	
Egypt (ancient or modern) .....	$\frac{1}{3}$	
Roman Empire .....	$\frac{1}{10}$	(fruit lands) $\frac{1}{3}$
Greece .....	$\frac{1}{10}$	also $\frac{1}{6}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$
Athens .....	$\frac{1}{20}$	
Carthage .....	$\frac{1}{3}$	(in time of war)
Burman Empire.....	$\frac{1}{10}$	
Turkey.....	$\frac{1}{10}$	
China .....	$\frac{1}{10}$	
Modern Greece .....	$\frac{1}{4}$	
Levitical Lands.....	$\frac{1}{10}$	(tithe)
India (ancient) .....	$\frac{1}{8}$ , $\frac{1}{3}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ .	

From this it would seem that in India a larger portion of the revenue has been always drawn from the land than in other countries in Asia. It does not of course follow, that, because the land-tax has been higher here than elsewhere, the people have been more heavily taxed. The Cingalese for instance are more heavily taxed than the Bengalis, and yet their land-tax is much lighter. Direct taxation, in which must be included the land-tax, is just that kind of taxation, which political economists most disapprove of; and one of the most wonderful circumstances, connected with the wealth of India, is the manner in which it has grown for ages under so great a load of direct taxation. And so it may continue to grow, as long as the State demand does not exceed one-fourth, or even one-third, of the gross produce of the land. The present demand, we believe, in nearly all the Bengal Presidency and in a great portion of the Madras and Bombay Presidencies, ranges from one-fourth to one-third; and we have seen that this is the probable amount also demanded in that halcyon antiquity, to which modern philanthropists are so fond of reverting. It has been the fashion to talk about the fabled wealth of India, as having vanished; and about the vitality of the country, as having been sapped away by excessive taxation. These are cheap assertions, which have certainly never been proved, but which it is difficult to disprove arithmetically because the primeval monarchies were not in the habit of publishing statistics. But we imagine that if the patriarchal lawgivers, Manu and Vidyaranya, or if the princes of Kanouj and Bijayanugur, could for a short time re-visit the earth, and be carried through India as it now is; if they could be shewn our ports, docks, arsenals, and magazines, our cantonments, our buildings and public works; if they could

have explained to them our machinery of Government, the vast expenditure and the immense sums that have been drained off to the mother country ; if they could view the face of the country, and see the cultivated plains, where, thousands of years ago, they used to chase the tiger and the elephant ; if they could observe the forest sinking'neath the stroke of the woodman's axe, the jungle broken up by the plough share and the harrow, and the wild beast retiring to his distant lair before the march of advancing civilization :—then, although they might miss the gaudy splendour of antiquity, yet they would surely confess that God had blessed the labours of the foreigner with unexampled success, and that verily these Feringhis were “lords of” the three worlds.”

In connexion with the principles above discussed, one question would naturally suggest itself, namely, Shall the revenue be collected in kind, or in money ? We answer, in money of course. Munro's example furnished a similar reply. He always fixed money-rents, and never attempted to appraise the standing crop, or to dole out a moiety of the stored grain ; and he pointedly testified to the demoralization invariably produced by such a system.\* It may indeed be more accurate and in bad seasons more favourable to the cultivator, as it is based on the actual, not upon the probable, out-turn. It may be preferred by the more ignorant and indolent class of cultivators. But it has a tendency to establish an inquisitorial tyranny in every village. It hatches a vile brood of corruptions and peculations, which prey alike on the State and the peasant. It habituates the people to low cunning, and teaches them to engage with the public officers in a ceaseless contest of deception and knavery. The cash system may be not quite so discriminating, but it is more straightforward, more sensible, and more workable. It may press hard occasionally upon individuals, but for the mass it will enforce moderation. It has been found that collections in kind may be made up to the highest amount the land can possibly bear : but, if a money rent be raised up to the same culminating point, it breaks down directly. In fixing money payments, therefore, a margin, as it were, must always be left in favour of the tax-payer †

\* Europe has however witnessed systems more demoralizing. Passing over the slave labour of ancient times, we may adduce the fergand Labour Rents prevalent in Prussia, Russia, and the Austrian Empire.

† These remarks on rents in kind and money apply only to India. They might not be applicable in Europe. The Metayers of several European provinces may be classed with the happiest peasantries in the world ; and the Irish Cottiers (who live under a cash system) with the most miserable. But it has been stated in the text that money payments cannot be pushed so far as collections in kind. And

There is one more point in Munro's administration, which requires a word or two of notice. He found the village system everywhere in operation: but he never tried to avail himself of its aid. Its principle was that the State should fix the revenue of the village, which revenue the villagers would then divide amongst themselves. This seems reasonable: because thereby Government is saved much trouble and expense both in collecting and assessing, and the villagers could no doubt make a much better division than the collector. It is a trite maxim, that the Government should never do for people what they can do for themselves. No court of justice in any country would dream of trying a cause, which could be decided by arbitration. By parity of reasoning, what is the use of Government perplexing itself with fiscal minutiae, which the people themselves can clear off? Moreover, it is evidently a mistake to keep a nation in political leading-strings, or to tie it to the apron of a maternal Government. It is surely better that they should learn local self-government and self-taxation. The village system exactly effects this: and, when Munro rejected its co-operation, he let drop an useful instrument, by which the people might be led on to manly independence, and threw into the shade an institution that was eminently popular, and on which were centred all those feelings, that, in other countries, find a vent in patriotism or loyalty.

The remainder of Munro's career, from 1807 to 1824, useful and brilliant as it was, did not relate to any principle of lasting importance. We shall not therefore expatiate on his labours in the Law Commission, his services in the Pindari and Burmese wars, or his government in Madras. We will merely follow him to his grave in the ceded districts. He had left these districts as a collector; he returned to them seventeen years afterwards as the Governor of the Presidency. He was on the eve of returning, full of years and honours, to his native land, whither he had sent his wife and children before him. But he resolved to take one last tour in that province, which was endeared to him by every association, that has charms for a noble

it may be, that in Ireland, an attempt has been too often made to extract the greatest possible amount from the land in the shape of money, and hence may arise one of the many causes which depress the Irish peasantry. However this may be, the example of Irish misery, of evictions, processes, distraints, and beggary, has prejudiced the public mind against money rents in general, and rendered the Cottier system a synonyme for oppression and distress. Thus the money rent system has had its faults set forth in strong relief, and has been visited with unreserved censure (which is not universally deserved), while its merits have been left unobserved.

and aspiring mind. Thither he proceeded with a few attendants at the hottest season of the year. He had scarcely arrived, when, at a place called Gooty, he was stricken with cholera, and died in a few hours. Thousands of people had crowded to see the man, whom they still remembered by the name of "Father." But the solemn booming of the minute guns from the Fort of Gooty announced, in tones of thunder, to the weeping inhabitants, that their benefactor was numbered with the dead. Many graves of great men have been honoured with all the pomp and circumstance of a public funeral; but what tomb could be more honoured than his, over which a rose a choultry, built by the natives of the district, and shaded by a grove which they had reverentially planted? A great Poet has said, it is meet that a "lover of nature" should be buried amidst the scenery he loved to look upon. Far meeter is it, that a great and good governor should lay his bones among the people whom he had beneficently ruled, and have his last resting place among the scenes of his labours. Merciful was the dispensation of Providence, which so ordained his death, that his tomb might stand as a visible memorial and example before his successors, and cause the remembrance of his actions to be enshrined in the affections of distant generations.

India has but one more grave like this to show. Many of our readers may have seen the unpretending monument erected by the Government at Bhágulpur to the memory of Cleveland, with a brief inscription, that tells how he established the Company's dominion in the hearts of the Hill Tribes. The public characters of these two men were much alike. We gather from Munro's letters at Canara, that the inspiring example of Cleveland in Bengal nerved him to the task of winning over the minds of the people. Both these good men, so akin in thought, in aspiration, and in active life, were buried under similar circumstances: in death they were not divided. The greatest of Indian scholars has written, that it is *men* that constitute a State. When the Company shall ask for a renewal of the Charter, may not one of its claims to public confidence and sympathy be this, that its services have produced such men as Munro and Cleveland?

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ART. VI.—*The Law relating to Officers in the Army.* By H. Prendergast, Esq., Barrister at Law.

“THE laws being given, (quoth Jeremy Bentham), why has the legislator prepared them? The answer is simple, as it is incontestable: ‘with the intention that each disposition should be present to the minds of all those who are interested in the knowledge of it, at the moment in which this knowledge may furnish them with motives for regulating their conduct.’ For this purpose it is necessary—1. That the code be prepared altogether in a style intelligible to the commonest understanding. 2. That every one may consult and find the law of which he stands in need, in the least possible time. 3. That for this purpose the subjects be detached from one another, in such manner that each condition may find that which belongs to itself, separated from that which belongs to another.

“‘Citizen,’ says the legislator, ‘what is your condition? are you a father?—open the chapter ‘of fathers.’ Are you an agriculturist?—consult the chapter ‘of agriculturists.’”

“This rule is both simple and satisfying. Once announced, it is comprehended; it cannot be forgotten. All legislators ought to follow so natural a method, says philosophy. Not one of them has ever dreamt of it, replies the lawyer.”

Far as we are from having any such well-arranged code as yet promulgated either for England or India, we hail with pleasure every attempt to remedy the defects of diffuse haphazard legislation and of undefined judge-made law; and whoever endeavours to remove or to simplify the difficulties, under which any particular class or condition labours, in consequence of the want of systematic arrangement, and of the absence of well-defined principles and laws, performs a service of no mean value. If this be the case, where the states or conditions are those of the ordinary relations of life, towards which there can exist no popular prejudice, and whose rights and obligations are not only universally acknowledged, but (forming the cementing bond of society) have been the objects of primary solicitude both with the legislator and the judge, how much more necessary is it, where a class of men are the objects of national jealousy, fear, and prejudice, that their position should be clearly defined, in order that the members of the obnoxious class, cut off from all popular sympathy, may know their rights and obligations, and may

be able to acquit themselves of the latter in the execution of duty with a tolerable sense of security. Of all classes or conditions of men in England, the military stand in greatest need of such a digest; for none incur so great risk from coming into conflict with the common or statute law of the land. Limited as are their numbers, jealousy even of the legal constitution of the army is deemed a right English feeling: and any transgression on the part of the members of a body, the subject of what may be termed a constitutional suspicion, is sure, even when originating in mere error or accident, to meet with little mercy, if not with extreme severity. There are circumstances, under which an officer may be suddenly placed, and in which he had need to be no mean lawyer in order so to act, as on the one hand to steer clear of the fangs of the common law, and on the other to satisfy the rigorous demands of the military code, to which he is specially subjected. On the one side the proverbial uncertainties of judge-made law and biassed juries beset him: whilst on the other, the slightest dereliction threatens him with the iron grip of offended discipline. To reconcile the duties of a citizen and a soldier is at times a delicate operation: and any work, which briefly and perspicuously furnishes a young officer with the general principles for his guidance, cannot fail of being acceptable and valuable.

The Manual, the title of which is placed at the head of this article, is an unpretending attempt to fulfil, to a certain extent, for the officers of the British army, that which Bentham would have effected for every state or condition of the body social and politic, by the systematic arrangement of a well-ordered code. It is an endeavour to define the civil rights, duties, and liabilities of the officers of the army—the object of the work being thus set forth in the preface by the author:—

“ Officers in the army are subject to a variety of special laws and legal principles, which deeply affect their professional and private rights; and it is hoped that a work, which endeavours to develop these subjects in a connected and untechnical form, will not be deemed a superfluous contribution to military literature.

“ With this view the following pages are by no means so much addressed to lawyers, as to a class of readers whose opportunities of access to legal publications are necessarily very limited; and care has been taken, in all cases of importance, to set forth the exact words and expressions employed by the learned judges in propounding the law, and, on other

‘ occasions, to give quotations at length from books of authority.’

The work is stated to have originated in a suggestion, made to the author by his brother, Lieut. W. G. Prendergast, 8th Bengal Cavalry, to whom the author liberally ascribes any merit it may possess, merely making himself responsible for the composition. The suggestion was certainly a good one: and although, in the way it has been acted upon, the result is a work calculated to be more useful to the officers of Her Majesty’s, than to the officers of the Company’s army, yet, even to the latter, it will form both a useful and a readable acquisition to their portable libraries. For, although the position of the Anglo-Indian army in India is entirely distinct from that of the army in England, yet, there are many points, such as those of foreign enlistment, right of retirement, rank, sale and purchase of commissions, purchasing out to facilitate retirement, pensions, prize money, criminal and civil liabilities, courts martial, domicile, wells, and a variety of other matters, in which the officers of the Company’s army will find valuable information.

The opening chapter on the legal constitution of the army, after giving a concise account of the origin of the Mutiny act, proceeds to give the following remarks upon the distinction between military and martial law—a distinction often lost sight of by many public writers:—“Military law is totally distinct from martial law. Military law affects only the troops, or forces to which its terms expressly apply; while martial law extends to all the inhabitants of the country or district where it happens to be in force. Military law is a code of previously defined regulations; whereas martial law is wholly arbitrary. By its very nature it originates in emergencies, and is regulated by the expediency of the moment. Military law is in operation during peace, as well as in war; but martial law emanates entirely from a state of intestine commotion, or hostile war actually raging in the scene of its administration. Martial law always accompanies troops in the field on foreign service; but it ceases on their return within the jurisdiction of civil or municipal tribunals actually exercising their functions. Military law, on the other hand, consists with the general undisturbed administration of the civil or municipal law, as is constantly exemplified by the sittings of courts martial in garrisons and harbours within the realm during profound peace.”

It is only in a modified sense, that martial law can be said



always to accompany troops in the field on foreign service. When insurrection has destroyed, or threatens to annihilate all civil authority, martial law is frequently the only resource for staying anarchy and restoring order; but armies marching and fighting in foreign countries often leave the civil and municipal administration undisturbed, and support rather than subvert the existing local tribunals. Martial law then simply consists in the exercise of sovereign powers by the commander of the army, without any alteration in, or violent interference with, the machinery of subordinate administration. During our wars in India, this has almost invariably been the course pursued; both good policy and convenience recommending its adoption. Thus too the Duke of Wellington's late striking protest, on the occasion of Lord Torrington's exculpatory address to the House of Lords, exemplifies the system pursued in the Peninsula.

“ But what he (the noble Duke) rose for, was to advert to what the noble Earl had said on the subject of martial law. Now he (the Duke of Wellington) contended that military law was neither more nor less than the will of the General who commanded the army; and it was, in fact, no law at all. The General must carry the law into execution. He was bound to lay down accurately the rules, and regulations, and limits, within, and by, which it was to be carried into execution. He had, in defence of his country, carried on martial law, that was to say, he had carried on the laws of the country by his own will. What did that mean? Why, that the country should be governed by the national laws, and he accordingly carried into execution those laws. He governed the country by the laws of the country; and he governed it, he must say, with such moderation, that the political servants of the country, whose military forces were driven out of the country, acted under his direction. The judges sat in the courts of law, and conducted efficiently the business of the country under his direction. He never was suspected to have acted in the manner in which the noble Viscount, who had addressed their Lordships, was said to have done: and he protested against being called into comparison in any way whatever with the noble Viscount.”

It may be a thoroughly English definition of martial law, which the Duke of Wellington gave; but we are proud to think that it is a correct one, in so far as British Generals are concerned: and we should be running the risk of turning into exceptions what is the general rule, were we to quote

other instances besides that signal one to which the Duke adverted.

When the spirit of revolution and insurrection involves in one common ruin all the elements of order, except the sword—the latter must be unsheathed to preserve society from the utter dissolution with which it is threatened. All other law being trodden under foot by miscreant masses, martial law steps upon the field, to put down anarchy, to repress force by force, to curb the sanguinary masses by the disciplined few, and to re-erect the sacred throne of justice. On such occasions, martial law, that is, the will and spirit of the Dictator-General, comes for a time singly into operation. Fortunately for England, this has very seldom, if ever, been the case; and although the military has frequently been called out on occasions of riot, it has been so at the bidding of the civil power, and acted in support of the same, whilst the foundations of its authority were unshaken and its supremacy undoubted. The doctrine of those eminent lawyers, who regard the military as armed citizens, and who consider that their being on rare occasions called in by the magistracy, to save the effusion of innocent blood, and to preserve the dominion of the law, forms no approach to martial law, appears sound. The events on the continent, in 1848, will doubtless have strengthened this opinion, and will have weakened the prejudice and aversion felt towards the “armed citizens” of the nation, not alone by the ignorant, but also by the better informed and more influential classes. The sword is now less regarded as the symbol of oppression than formerly. On the contrary, those, who have anything to lose by the subversion of the social condition of civilized Europe, esteem the sword as the friend of order and the successful opponent of mad anarchy. For a time, therefore, the force of English prejudice against the military is weakened, and the bias is neither so strong nor so generally hostile to them; but young officers of the British army must not permit themselves to be blinded, or to assume undue confidence from the perusal of Mr. Prendergast’s chapter on criminal liabilities. They must remember that the popular prejudice against the profession is deep rooted, and, though at present somewhat modified, more or less pervades all classes; that juries are steeped in popular feeling and prejudices; that the press is the same necessarily; that the opinions of some judges form no invariable rule for their successors; and that, in the absence of clear, unquestionable statute law, judge-made law may vary to an indefinite amount—and that too, unfor-

unately, without pre-monition to the public. Hallam has a passage very characteristic of English feeling upon this subject, and but little consonant with the doctrine of the eminent lawyers put forward by Mr. Prendergast. After deriding the supposition as idle, that at any time, since the Revolution, the regular army could be employed to pull the Speaker out of his chair, or to confirm a despotic power in the Crown, he proceeds to say—"But, as the slightest inroads upon private rights and liberties are to be guarded against in any nation that deserves to be called free, we should always keep in mind, not only that the military power is subordinate to the civil, but, as this subordination must cease where the former is frequently employed, that it should never be called upon in aid of the peace without sufficient cause. Nothing would more break down this notion of the law's supremacy, than the perpetual interference of those, who are really governed by another law; for the doctrine of some judges, that the soldier, being still a citizen, acts only in preservation of the public peace, as another citizen is bound to do, must be felt as a sophism, even by those who cannot find an answer to it. And even in slight circumstances, it is not conformable to the principles of our Government to make that vain display of military authority which disgusts us so much in some continental kingdoms."

To this latter sentence is appended the following foot-note:—  
 'Nothing can be more *un-English* than an innovation of no long standing, which I never observe without disgust—the presence of sentinels at the doors of the British Museum, and even at exhibitions of pictures. Though this proceeds from the silliest vanity, it is pity, that, among the numberless modes in which that quality can display itself, it should not have chosen one less unbecoming."

We have quoted this passage and note because the whole is thoroughly characteristic—thoroughly English: and with such a substratum of national feeling—a wholesome one, though often degenerating into the ridiculous—it would be unsafe for young or old officers to allow themselves to be deceived into a fatal sense of security by the grim smiles, or wise saws of the sages of the law. An officer in England cannot well be either too cautious, or too studious, only to act in direct indubitable subordination to the magistrate.

These remarks are not wholly inapplicable to India. Steam has brought England close to us in point of time; and, although no two conditions can well be more essentially different than

those of the British army in India and in England, yet British officers acting in India must ever bear in mind the peculiarities and qualities of that English public opinion, based on English feelings, which is ultimately to pronounce on their conduct. We could wish that Mr. Prendergast had been furnished with somewhat more than Sir Thomas Munro's General Order of 1825, in which that distinguished man lays down the course to be observed by the civil magistrates in calling upon the military for aid to preserve the peace of the country. Although they do not essentially differ from those in force in the Bengal (and we suppose in the Bombay) Presidency, yet, as clear and definite instructions have been issued in the political and in the civil departments for the direction of political and civil officers, who find it necessary to call the military into play, the Manual would have been rendered most valuable to a large class of officers, had its author dwelt somewhat more fully on a subject of no trifling importance to the military serving in India. The author's supply of information from the India House seems to have been very restricted; which is a pity.

The necessity, however, for the utmost caution on the part both of Queen's and of Company's officers in the execution of duty, will be best seen in the chapter headed "Liability for private injuries." No such act has been passed with respect to military officers, as has lately been promulgated and made law in favour of the civil servants of the Company. The former, therefore, are bound to keep clearly in view their liability to be arraigned before the courts of law, and to find themselves engaged in actions, arising out of the abuse, real or imaginary, of military power and authority, exerted in conformity with the rules of discipline and the code of military law. Lord Mansfield's language merits peculiar attention: for where a jury, ignorant of military law, inexperienced in the emergencies of discipline, naval and military, and to whose habits and feelings military obedience is repugnant, are to pronounce "*how the heart stood*," when an officer performed a duty, perhaps eminently distressing to his feelings, at a time, however, when any weak display of such feeling might be productive of great, if not irremediable, evil—then, we say, that both the jury and the officer, standing as defendant before that jury, are placed under very difficult and very peculiar circumstances. How far the "*secrets of the heart*" are matters of fact for a jury to pronounce upon, need not here be discussed. The doctrine has been enunciated, and is recorded as almost of equal authority with statute law: and therefore a jury would set about enquir-

ing and deciding upon "how the heart stood," without much question as to the facility of an investigation into this "matter of fact," pronounced to be within the scope of their deliberation. An officer ought therefore to bear the circumstance in mind, for, although "out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh," and therefore we do not so much object to the doctrine, where time, place, and circumstance facilitate full immediate enquiry, and the attendance of creditable witnesses, whilst words and acts are fresh in their minds—yet, where time has elapsed, circumstances are no longer fresh in the memory, and witnesses may be dead, or not available and at call, we regard the doctrine as full of danger in application."

"In trying the legality of acts done by military officers in 'the exercise of their duty, particularly beyond the seas, 'where cases may occur without the possibility of application 'for proper advice, great latitude ought to be allowed: and 'they ought not to suffer for a slip of form, if their intention 'appears by the evidence to have been upright. It is the 'same as when complaints are brought against inferior magistrates, such as justices of the peace, for acts done by them 'in the exercise of their civil duty. There the principal enquiry to be made by a court of justice is—*how the heart stood?* 'and, if there appear to be nothing wrong there, great latitude 'will be allowed for misapprehension or mistake. But, on 'the other hand, if the heart is wrong—if cruelty, malice, 'and oppression appear to have occasioned or aggravated the 'imprisonment, or other injury complained of—they shall not 'cover themselves with the thin veil of legal forms; nor 'escape under the cover of a justification the most technically 'regular, from that punishment, which it is your province and 'your duty to inflict on so scandalous an abuse of public 'trust."

In the chapter on the sale and purchase of commissions, the author touches upon a subject, which very deeply concerns the officers of the Indian army, and which it would be advisable, before the renewal or modification of the East India Company's charter, that they should move to have put upon a satisfactory footing. If the law be as stated by the Manual, the interests of the great body of the officers of the army are on a most precarious footing; the purchase of promotion, now the rule and custom in most corps of the service, being carried on not only upon bare sufferance of the East India Company, but also in contravention of law, and therefore, whenever and wherever called into question, illegal.

After examining the law with respect to the sale and purchase of commissions in the British army, the author proceeds as follows:—"As to those corps, therefore, in the Royal army, in which promotion takes place only by succession, the result is, that where an officer for a pecuniary consideration makes way, by his retirement, for the admission on promotion of another, the transaction is illegal and void. It makes no difference whether the money paid is in the form of a gross sum or an annuity, or whether the payment is effected out of private funds, or secured by a charge upon the future emoluments receivable by the officer, who gets the benefit of the vacancy.

"The like law must obviously apply, in equal degree and in every particular, to the East India Company's military service, where succession by seniority is the rule of promotion. It is, therefore, perfectly clear, that all those transactions, which are understood to be of frequent occurrence in the various corps of that service, for inducing the retirement of senior officers by pecuniary considerations, are utterly illegal and void in themselves, and expose all parties, without exception, who are concerned in such transactions, to a prosecution for misdemeanour before the Supreme Courts in India, or the Court of Queen's Bench at Westminster, as circumstances may require.

"It has been already pointed out, that the money paid upon such transactions, whether in the Royal army, or in the East India Company's forces, can be recovered back by the officers who contributed it, or by their representatives; and that officers concerned in such transactions are liable to be cashiered.

"It is obvious, that parties concerned in irregular transactions, like those under consideration, incur great risks of extortion, in order to compromise prosecutions, or to avoid injurious exposures in courts of justice."

Now, this view of the nature of such transactions does not appear seriously invalidated, either by the comparative publicity and unanimity of a corps combining to purchase out members, or by the despatch of the Court of Directors of the 29th November, 1837, quoted by the author, which states:—

"We see no necessity for interfering with the arrangements which the junior officers of a regiment may make in individual cases for adding to the comforts of a senior officer, on his retirement from the service on the pension to which he may be entitled."

"The regulation of 1798, requiring officers, upon retirement

to make oath that they have received no pecuniary consideration for quitting the service, has not been enforced by us in any single case of retirement in England; during the period of nearly forty years, which has since elapsed. It was established, chiefly upon financial grounds, to prevent (as observed by Lord Cornwallis, when recommending other rules for the same object) *an unreasonable load of pensions*. This presumed necessity for the rule has, however, not yet been felt; on the contrary, additional facilities have been required, and have been given, for enabling officers to retire upon full pay. We shall, therefore, continue to suspend the operation of the rule; and officers, retiring from time to time, will not be called upon to make the declaration, unless the financial necessity, to which we have referred (and of which due notice shall be given) shall, at a future period, be fully realized."

The court, by this despatch, do not, for the present, interfere or discourage such transactions as those to which they advert: but, as remarked by the author of the Manual, the East India Company has no power to legalize transactions prohibited by Act of Parliament, and parties concerned in them are liable to suits and prosecutions. The sense of honour among the officers of the army is too high to render the frequent occurrence of such suits or prosecutions a probable event: but cases might happen in which officers, discharged from the service, who had paid large sums towards purchasing out their seniors, and who felt themselves, or fancied themselves, aggrieved by dismissal, might seek to recover a portion of their losses in such payments:—and it must be remembered that before an English court, the fact, that the plaintiff had himself agreed to give the money, had actually done so, and was therefore *particeps criminis*, would not, according to precedents, have weight where the relief is given on grounds of public policy. Other instances may easily be imagined, in which suits and prosecutions on account of such payments might arise. Now, as experience proves that apprehensions regarding an overwhelming pension list are idle, and as the law is in conflict with a practice which the Court of Directors virtually sanction, it would, in every respect, be well that the officers of the army, by far the greater part of whom are now *particeps criminis* in this respect, and have many of them spent considerable sums in the hope, when their turn came, to profit by such arrangements, should be secured, whether retired, or in the service, from liability to suits and prosecutions for perfectly honest unobjectionable transactions. It is well known that many corps, besides the larger ones,

such as the Artillery and Engineers, have organized a system of gradal and periodical subscription for the purpose of purchasing out seniors, or officers willing to quit the service if aided. It would be hard indeed, after a life of heavy payments on this account, that an officer retiring should find himself forced to refund to any particular members their quota, or that a whole corps, after having for years paid away large sums in this manner, should suddenly, for any fancied pressure of the pension list, be precluded from continuing a system, in which all the members concurred and paid, often with great difficulty, from the hope of ultimately profiting. Whatever the form in which the charter is renewed, and the constitution of the Indian army maintained, this is a point affecting their position and interests, which should not be passed over with oblivious negligence, as the vested rights (they may so be termed with propriety) of three-fourths of the officers of the army are therein deeply concerned.

The chapter, entitled "Pay, half-pay, pensions," in which are set forth the rules and principles, both in law and equity, which have been fully recognized and acted upon by the legislature, contains information in a compact form of the highest importance to all officers. So also the chapter "On prizes and booty," in connection with which it may be remarked, that the Koh-i-nûr would appear fairly to fall within the specification of the subjects from which prize money is to arise, as laid down by the 2 Wm. IV., c. 53: and therefore the army may fairly look for an explanation of the grounds upon which that celebrated jewel has been otherwise treated. If considered *state* property, it would require some ingenuity to except it from the booty of the campaign. If regarded as private property, and the transfer has been a transaction between a minor and our Government, the matter merits a parliamentary explanation. The army and the British nation ought to be made aware of the exact character of a transaction, which strips the Ex-Maharaja of so invaluable a jewel, and places it among the crown jewels of England. Much as they may feel the glory of such an acquisition, and proud as they may be that the Queen of England should wear this glittering prize, neither right pride, nor true glory can be entertained by the nation, until it is satisfactorily proved, that the whole transaction can bear the light:—and the sooner this is done, the better.

That portion of the Manual, which touches on the question of domicile, is of very material importance to the officers of the Indian armies, so many of whom boast of Scotland as their native



country. It concerns them to bear in mind, that the law of succession in Scotland differs from the English law on that subject; and that it has been ruled "that a Scotchman, entering the military service of the East India Company, abandons and loses his original Scotch domicile; so that if he dies in India, while in the pay of the Company, and without making a will, the succession to his personal property is regulated by the law of England, and not by that of Scotland."

The remarks, and the cases cited, on the subject of wills, are also worthy of attention, and calculated to prevent errors, such as the late Major-General Clement Hill fell into, and in consequence of which his will was declared to be invalid. In lieu of the Tarragona, Genoa, and Russál Khyma Prize Warrants, which the author has given in the appendix to the Manual, a few plain directions for, and drafts of, wills would, we think, be an improvement, and add to the utility of this handy volume. It is a subject on which much general ignorance prevails amongst officers, whose acquaintance with matters of this nature, from the want of such a small treatise as the Manual, is vague, and frequently coincides with that, which the late Major-General C. Hill entertained.

We take leave of Mr. Prendergast, with the feeling, that he has done valuable service to the officers of the British armies, and that his Manual will form part of the "kit" of the intelligent portion of the military profession.

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ART. VII.—*Christianity in Ceylon ; its introduction and progress under the Portuguese, the Dutch, the British, and American Missions : with an historical sketch of the Brahminical and Buddhist superstitions. By Sir James Emerson Tennent, K. C. S., L. L. D., &c. With illustrations. London. John Murray. 1850.*

THE history of Christianity in Ceylon may be compressed into very few words. It is yet in its infancy. But the history of the attempts, that have been made to introduce it into that beautiful island, affords ample scope and most varied and interesting materials for a larger work than the elegant and elaborately finished volume of Sir James Emerson Tennent. We have witnessed three centuries and a half of persevering effort to plant the cross deep in the Singalese soil ; and, for the greater part of that time, the work has been carried on with a high hand, and with no slackness of zeal, or over-scrupulousness as to means. The new religion had the attractiveness of novelty, the *prestige* of conquest, and the influence of Government, in its favour. No champion stood forth to attack the faith of the *Feringhis*, or to defend his own ; and multitudes of the apathetic and feeble-minded idolators were found ready to become Romanists, or Protestants,—or any thing else, according to the latest Government Regulation.

To trace the progress of this grand experiment through all its varying phases, is a task of no ordinary interest ; and Sir J. E. Tennent has, we think, been singularly happy in his choice of a subject. We have begun to recognize that battles and bloodshed are not the true land-marks of history : and the vulgar hero-worship of the Alexanders, Cæsars, Timours, and Napoleons is now being transferred to other and worthier shrines. The man, who contributes most efficiently to the intellectual or moral advancement of his race, is the true hero of history ; and, from this point of view, Plato and Aristotle, Bacon and Newton, will take rank above “blind old Mæonides,” or even above Shakespeare himself, the most many-sided and creative genius, that the world has yet seen. Science and Politics have their ever-renewing conflicts ; but the world-wide and world-long war, on the issue of which hang the destinies of humanity, is between good and evil. To eradicate the prejudices and superstitions, which debase and disgrace our nature—to put away the follies and subdue the passions, which lead to crime and guilt—to live together in a brotherhood of peace and love—to have a true faith, a sure hope, and the same God—this is

what humanity should aim at ; and every true right-hearted man should set himself in earnest to the work. Poetry and Art, Science and Philosophy, may charm the intellect, and pour into it an unceasing flood of wonder and delight : mechanical triumphs may be multiplied, property more equitably distributed, and "the best of all possible republics" may stand forth at last a reality ; the poor may live in palaces, and eat from vessels of Californian gold ; and unexpected and inexhaustible resources for comfort and luxury may speedily be brought to light. Yet, after all, a world covered with "crystal palaces," and inhabited by "admirable Crichtons," would still be wasted and blurred by death and suffering, by sorrow and crime. For these there is but one remedy—the Gospel of Christ in its purity received into the heart, with the full consent of the intellect, and carried out thoroughly in every-day life and conduct. Christianity in its true power, thus exhibited, would soon draw all eyes, and make short work with all that mass of faint-heartedness and sham, of candle-lighting and posture-making and calling names, of Socialisms and Fourierisms and Mormonisms, which men now strive to palm upon the world in its stead.

If any such exhibition of the spirit and influence of the Gospel is now to be found, we would neither seek it on the battle-field of controversy, nor even within the settled creed and use-and-wont practice of an orthodox and long-established sect. The eye naturally turns to her Missions, as the bright spots of the Church ; and undoubtedly she should teach there with greater freedom from sectarian-prejudices, with more largeness of view and aim, and with more love and zeal, than in any other place, where her voice is heard. There is something, one would think, humanizing and elevating in the very attempt to rescue a fellow-creature from mental bondage or cruel and murderous delusion, and to lead him to virtue, and to God. There are sweet and gentle natures, there are high and noble minds, to be found hood-winked and blind-folded amongst the votaries of Krishna and Kali. Can any task be more interesting and delightful, or more worthy of our highest energies, than to search out and to find such, to teach them to fling off the foul and bloody yoke, and to rise up (a glorious building) to the height of the Christian standard—to a love of the pure and holy, the living and true God, and to a loving recognition of the whole human brotherhood ? But, when we deal, not only with individual destinies, but with the future (spreading out to eternity) of a nation, surely, it cannot be denied, that the Christian Missionary's work, marred though it may be by errors

of design and of execution, is, in itself, a noble and a god-like work, worthy of all sympathy, and worthy of all praise.

Some such views the Portuguese and the Dutch, buccaneers and adventurers though they were, seem to have entertained of it; and, in their earlier intercourse with the Hindus, there was no lack of zeal, or of a wild sympathy with the Missionaries, or of genuine but misdirected efforts, not for, but against, the idolators.

The history of what has been done in Ceylon for the introduction of Christianity, has not only the common interest attached to every such attempt, and certain leading features, which identify its course with the usual progress of Missions since the era of Constantine, but it has also peculiar features of its own, pregnant with instructive and weighty lessons, bearing on the Missions of the present day. It is a very common mistake to confound the wonderful expansive power, which Christianity at first put forth, and which virtually conquered for it the Roman Empire, with its progress afterwards: and the friends and foes of Missions are but too apt unreasonably to find fault with their results in modern times. The impartial pages of history afford no ground for such fault-finding. After the first great impulse, when the word was preached with power, God himself confirming it with signs and wonders from heaven, the era of controversy succeeded the era of Missions. When Constantine flung his sword into the scale, the movement was political rather than religious. From his day the onward march of the Gospel became slower and slower. Century after century rolled by; and, a thousand years after the birth of Christ, Europe was not all even nominally Christian. Paganism still lingered in many lands, and was rampant in Sweden, Lithuania, Poland, and Prussia; and it was not until the conquest of Rugen, the last great stronghold of the Heathen, by the Danish king Waldemar in 1168, or rather until the utter desolation of Prussia by fire and sword, which the Teutonic knights finally accomplished A. D. 1287, that the faith of Europe became professedly Christian. If, as Gibbon would have it, the Gospel owes its triumphs to human power and human policy, how came it that such mighty and puissant Missionaries as Clovis and his Franks, Charlemagne and his Peers, the valiant Cœur de Lion, his great rival, Philip Augustus, and St. Louis and the chivalry of France, achieved such miserable results, while Paul the tent-maker, and Peter the fisherman of Galilee, filled the known world with their converts? \* The answer is not far to seek. The Apostles preached the pure Gospel, with a living faith in their own hearts, and their weapons

were tempered and polished in the armoury of Heaven. They proved by miracle (as need then was) that they were commissioned to speak the truth of God; and the truth was so powerful, that it drew forth men and women by tens of thousands to leave all that is dearest to flesh and blood, and to expose themselves, with deliberate forethought, to scorn and suffering, and not unfrequently to the martyr's death.

But the Apostles, and those, who followed them as they followed Christ, passed away; and another faith and other measures prevailed. Christianity, or rather what was so called, was encrusted and overlaid with superstition. Her followers were still zealous, according to what light they had: but that light burnt more and more dimly; and, at last, all but merged into Romanism. Deeds were done in the name of Christ, and professedly for the propagation of Christianity, that made the very name "stink in the nostrils." The Bible was shut: the sound of the Gospel was unheard. The knights of the Temple and the Hospital were the accredited champions of the Cross; and, where it might have been troublesome to convince or to confute, a lance-thrust, or a crushing blow with a mace, silenced the opponent for ever. Charlemagne dealt with the Saxons, as the Teutonic knights with the Heathens of Prussia, after the fashion of Islam.

Nor did the Church of Rome trust to arms alone. Her policy for her own temporal and spiritual aggrandizement was unscrupulous, unslumbering, masterly. She engrossed the learning of the times, and for ages influenced the politics of Europe. She won the masses by showy processions, incense, music, and an imposing ceremonial: she deluded them by juggling miracles, lying legends, and high claims to sanctity. She overawed the timid by the voice of authority; and she punished the contumacious with excommunication, or death. The same power, that lit the fires and worked the pulleys of the Inquisition, travestied the holiest things in the mysteries, and encouraged the coarse revels and baptized Heathenisms of the rabble; and in the same Church might be seen a master-piece of Raphael, and a paring of some Saint's nail, or a phial of the apocryphal blood of an apocryphal martyr. She had holy men too, and zealous Missionaries—her Patricks, her Augustines, and her Xaviers; and truth herself seemed abashed in the presence of Aquinas and Borromeo, of Bossuet and Thomas à Kempis. But, though she had the field to herself for nearly a thousand years, the first blast of the Reformation showed how little real progress she had made, and how weak, before the Ithuriel touch of truth, are all the might and pomp

of falsehood. It is true that she held much truth; but she held that truth in unrighteousness. What was of God stood firm; but the wood, hay, and stubble, which she had added, could not endure the day of trial. Christianity has a way of its own, and will take no other; and, whoever they be, Papist or Protestant, who despise the simple machinery of the Gospel, and take craft or cunning, policy or force into their counsels—however great their success may seem for a time, in the end they will reap disappointment.

The mere fact then, that more than three hundred years have elapsed since the first systematic attempt to introduce Christianity into Ceylon, and that little real progress has yet been made, has but too many precedents in history; and, when we turn our attention to the manner and the spirit, in which this grand experiment has been conducted, nothing seems more natural than such a result.

It is quite unnecessary to discuss here the legend of St. Thomas, and the supposed introduction of the Gospel into India in Apostolic times. It is not even alleged to have reached Ceylon before the 5th or 6th century. But no native Church appears to have been formed then; and the arrival of the Portuguese in 1505 is the real epoch, from which the authentic history of Christianity in Ceylon begins. This is very lucidly established in the opening pages of Sir James E. Tennent's work; and the extract, which follows, is no unfair specimen of the judgment, learning and temper, with which the book is written:—

The earliest notice of the existence of Christianity in Ceylon is that of Cosmas Indicopleustes, an Egyptian merchant, and afterwards a monk, who published his "Christian Topography" in the reign of Justinian, in order to vindicate the cosmography of the Old Testament from (what he believed to be) the heresies of "the Ptolemaic system."\* Cosmas, who was himself a Nestorian, tells that in Taprobanē there existed a community of be-

\* The *Χριστιανική Τοπογραφία* of Cosmas Indicopleustes, or Indicopleustes, has been edited by Montfaucon, and will be found in his *Collectio Nova Patrum*, vol. ii., par. 1706. The portion, relative to Ceylon and the plants and animals of India, was printed by Thevenot, with a French translation, in his *Relations de divers Voyages curieux*, vol. i. There are some legends to the effect that Christianity had been preached in Ceylon by St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew; but there is no reasonable ground for believing that India was ever visited by an apostle, although the tradition is supported by St. Jerome and Chrysostom, by Athanasius and Eusebius; and it was so firmly believed in the early ages of the Church that Alfred the Great sent Swithelm or Sigheilm, the Bishop of Sherburn, on an embassy to India to visit the shrine of St. Thomas. (Palgrave's *Anglo-Saxons*, p. 185; Sharon Turner's *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, vol. ii., p. 138). There is a still more curious tradition to the effect that Ceylon had been visited, and the Christian faith introduced, by the Eunuch of Candace, whose conversion by Philip is recorded in the Acts of the Apostles. (Hough's *History of Christianity in India*, vol. i., pp. 30, 32, 42; Baldeus, p. 280.)

† The ancient Greek name of Ceylon.

lievers, with an episcopal form of discipline, priests, deacons, and a liturgy. This slender statement has afforded material for enlarged speculation as to the doctrines, the extent, and duration of an early Church in Ceylon. It has been assumed as proof of the conversion of the Singhaless prior to the fifth and sixth centuries; and the author of the "History of Christianity in India" propounds it as more than probable, that the Church, so implanted, survived till the arrival of the Portuguese in 1505, when "their buildings no doubt shared the fate of the temples of Buddha, which they (the Portuguese) pulled down, and with the materials erected Churches of their own religion on all parts of the coast."\*

But a reference to the original authority disposes at once of these eager conjectures.† Cosmas expressly declares that the members of the Church in Ceylon were *Persians*, and merely sojourners—a portion, no doubt, of that concourse of merchants and travellers, who then resorted to the northern parts of the island, as the great depôt and emporium of Eastern trade;—but that the natives and their kings were of a different religion. As to doctrine, the probability is that they were of the same faith and form of ecclesiastical government as the Syrian Churches in the southern promontory of India, which were founded in the third or fourth century by Christians from the Persian Gulf, whose successors to the present time have preserved a form of Christianity, however corrupted, and maintained an uninterrupted connexion with the original Church,—first through the See of Seleucia, and since through the Patriarch of Antioch. But with the decline of Oriental commerce, and the diminished resort of merchants from Arabia and Persia, the travellers and adventurers, who formed the members of the first Christian body in Ceylon, ceased to frequent the shores of Manaar; and Christianity, never firmly rooted, gradually decayed and disappeared.

Between the sixth century and the arrival of the Portuguese in the sixteenth, we have but few accounts of the internal condition of the island, and no mention whatever of a Christian community.

The "two Muhammadans," Ibn Vahab and Abou Zeyd, whose narratives have been translated by Renaudot, and more recently and completely by Reinaud, describe Ceylon in the ninth century, and record the division of the island between two kings, as mentioned by Cosmas, one of whom was, of course, the Rajah of Jaffna. The authors are altogether silent as to the existence of any form of Christianity, although Abou Zeyd states that "the king, who then reigned, permitted the free exercise of every religion; and the island contained a multitude of Jews, as well as of many other sects, even Ta-

\* Hough's *History of Christianity in India*, vol. iii., b. vii., ch. 2, p. 74. The assertion is given on the authority of Cordier (*Description of Ceylon*, vol. i., p. 154.); but it is entirely conjectural, and at variance with the testimony of every traveller in Ceylon during the middle ages.

† Δύο δὲ βασιλεῖς εἰσιν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, ἐνάντιοι ἀλλήλων. ὁ εἰς ἔχων τὸν δάκτυλον, καὶ ὁ ἕτερος τὸ μέρος τὸ ἄλλο, ἐν ᾧ ἐστὶ τὸ ἐμπόριον καὶ ὁ λιμὴν. Ἐχει δὲ ἡ αὕτῃ νήσος καὶ ἐκκλησίαν τῶν ἐπιδημούντων Περσῶν Χριστιανῶν, καὶ πρεσβύτερον ἀπὸ Περσίδος χειροτονοῦμενον, καὶ διάκονον, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν λειτουργίαν.—οἱ δὲ ἐγγχώριοι καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἀλλόφυλοι εἰσιν. *Cosmas Indicopleustes; Thevenot, Relations, &c., &c.*, vol. i.; *Ibid.*, l. xi.; *Montfaucon Coll. Patr.*, v. ii., p. 336.

‡ Ἐξ ὧν δὲ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς καὶ Περσίδος καὶ Αἰθιοπίας δέχεται ἡ νήσος πλοῖα πολλὰ, μεση τῆς οὐσας, ὁμοίως καὶ ἐκπέμπει.—*Cosmas Ind.*, l. xi.; *Monif.*, vol. ii., p. 337.

nous, or Manichees." As to the faith of the sovereign, and the mass of the people, they say that "the king makes laws, which are the fundamentals of the religion and government of the country; and here are doctors, and assemblies of learned men, like those of the Hadithis of Arabia. The Indians repair to these assemblies, and write down what they hear of the lives of their prophets, and the various expositions of their laws.\*"

Four centuries later, Marco Polo, the Venetian traveller, made his way to Ceylon about the year 1290 A. D.; he declares that "the inhabitants were idolators;" and it is scarcely credible, had a Christian Church, however small, been then in existence, that he, a Christian himself, would have omitted all mention of so interesting a fact.

Ibn Batuta, the adventurous Moor, who traversed almost all the countries of Asia in the fourteenth century, and visited Ceylon about 1324 A. D., is equally silent in relation to Christianity; although he is particular in describing the Emperor as an infidel, and records the proceedings of the Brahmins and Buddhists, and the pilgrimage to the sacred foot-mark on the summit of Adam's Peak.

Thus, notwithstanding the remarkable preservation of Christianity in India, throughout this gloomy period, amongst the Syrian Churches on the Coromandel coast, and its permanent adoption by the Tamils and other tribes of the peninsula, its light appears to have been but transiently kindled, and to have speedily become extinguished on the opposite coast of Ceylon. If it ever included in its communion any of the native inhabitants of the island, they must have relapsed into idolatry, shortly after the departure of its original founders. —*l'p.* 1—6.

The history of Christianity in Ceylon begins then with, what Sir James styles, the Portuguese period: and it will throw some light on the results of that period, which extended over a hundred and thirty years, if we consider the opinion, which the natives must necessarily have entertained concerning the upholders of the new faith. The Portuguese were then a gallant and a warlike race. Not Cortez or Pizarro run greater risks, were more rapacious for gold, or more reckless of life and principle, than the valiant cavaliers, who fought, and robbed, and conquered under Vasco de Gama, the magnificent Albuquerque, or the redoubtable Mascarenhas. There were a certain stateliness too, and chivalric bearing, and withal a strong dash of devotion, or rather superstition, which distinguished them from the vulgar pirate. But pirates and buccaneers they were—fierce, remorseless, un pitying; and, pirates and buccaneers they must have seemed, ere they grew to be tyrants and conquerors.

The famous Vasco de Gama himself, with perhaps somewhat of the roughness of the sea, was no unfavourable specimen of

\* "Le royaume de Serendyb a une loi et des docteurs, qui s'assemblent de temps en temps, comme se réunissent chez nous les personnes, qui recueillent les traditions du Prophète. Les Indiens se rendent auprès des docteurs, et écrivent, sous leur dictée, la vie de leurs prophètes, et les préceptes de leur loi. . . . On trouve dans l'île de Serendyb une communauté de Juifs, qui est nombreuse. Il y a également des personnes des autres religions, notamment des Dualistes (les Manichéens). Le roi de Serendyb laisse chaque communauté professer son culte." Transl. par Reinaud, vol. i., p. 128.



his nation: yet was ever pirate or robber guilty of more cold-blooded atrocity, than is recorded of him by the Jesuit Lafitau?

"On reaching the Malabar Coast (this was during his second voyage, in 1502), he fell in with the *Meris*, a large ship, which the Sultan of Egypt sent every year to Hindustan, from which it brought back a rich cargo on his account. The ship also carried many passengers, whom devotion led to visit the tomb of Muhammad at Mecca. On overtaking her, Vasco gave way a *little too much* (*un peu trop*) to the movement of his hatred against the Moors, and that too in a manner unworthy of a gentleman! For, not content with plundering the vessel, which offered no resistance, and taking out of her in the first place twenty children, whom he destined to become monks in the monastery of Our Lady of Belcm, he then tried to sink the vessel, in order to drown all that remained on board, to the number of nearly *three hundred persons*. But, not being able to succeed, he was obliged to attack her by open force, and to set her on fire—which perhaps he might not have accomplished so easily, had these poor wretches, foreseeing the cruel fate that fell upon them, endeavoured to defend themselves." *Lafitau, Vol. I., pp. 184-185.*

Here all is in keeping: the pillaging—the cruel superstition—the pitiless murder—and the flippant and heartless narrative of the priestly historian. But this was not the Amirante's sole exploit of a similar kind. In one of his disputes with the Zamorin of Calicut, he picked up fifty harmless fishermen, who were peaceably following their trade, ignorant and unconscious of danger; and, when the Zamorin refused to comply with certain terms which he proposed, Gama hung up the whole of these poor innocent creatures in sight of the town, and, cutting off their feet and hands, floated them ashore with the tide on a raft.

Five years later, Lafitau tells us how Dabul was stormed by the Viceroy, Francis D'Almeyda:—

"They (the Portuguese) spared neither age nor sex: the wife of the Governor himself could not purchase her life with the offer of all her riches. The insolent conquerors, fell with such savage fury upon the miserable inhabitants, that they took pleasure in tearing children from the bosoms of their mothers, and dashing their brains out against the walls; so that their cruelty has passed into a proverb in Hindustan—the Hindus in their imprecations being accustomed to say, *'May the wrath of the Feringhis fall upon thee, as it fell*

'upon Dabul!' When at length they were glutted with murder, they thought of nothing but satiating their avarice; and D'Almeyda, before he could get them away, was obliged to set fire to the town, and thus put the finishing stroke to the destruction of all that had escaped the hands of his rapacious soldiery." *Vol. I., p. 421.* In the following year (1509) this same monster,\* after the conclusion of a peace, won by constant victories, signalized his triumphant return to Cananore, by hanging up many of his unfortunate prisoners, and blowing many others from the mouths of cannons, in the sight of all the town; on which courtly father Lafitau permits himself only to remark that, "it is difficult to command our passions in prosperity." But we will not sicken our readers with more tales of blood. These were common incidents in the calendar of Portuguese conquest. Invincible in fight, fierce, cruel and remorseless, insolent and overbearing in their demeanour, tyrannical and exacting beyond all Hindu or Muhammadan precedent, with hearts set on gold, and hands stained with blood;—such was the aspect, in which the European followers of Jesus first showed themselves to the natives of Hindustan.

When these men (for like the Thugs in India, and the robbers in the Papal states, they were very devout in their way) set themselves to convert the natives to *their* religion, and literally "to compel them to come in," what could be expected, especially from the timid and passive Singalese, but fear, abhorrence—and compliance? Gama himself, it will be remembered, made twenty converts in one bloody day. But the monarch of Portugal had worthier views; and the second fleet, that doubled the Cape under Cabral, carried five Franciscan Missionaries to preach the Gospel to the Hindus. Never did Mission commence with more of Royal favour or encouragement. The Bishop of Viseu publicly consecrated the standard: the King, with his own hands, placed on the head of Cabral, a hat blessed by the Pope; and, professedly, the chief object of the expedition was to obtain from the Zamorin permission for the Missionaries to preach the Gospel freely in every part of his dominions—failing which, Cabral was enjoined to fall upon him with fire and sword, and "to do him all the harm he could in every possible way." It is true that this was in the main a mere blind; and that the real design of the expedition was to secure, by fair means or foul, a monopoly of the Indian trade. King Emmanuel, however, was honestly zealous for his

\* D'Almeyda was superseded in 1509; and, on his way home, perished miserably, being run through the body with a wooden spear by a Hottentot, or Caffre, in an obscure skirmish, at the Cape of Good Hope.

faith, and proud of it too: and his measures for promoting it, if not the most judicious, were at least princely, and worthy of a great monarch. It was reserved for later times to behold Missionaries driven out of India by a Protestant power, lest they should preach the faith of Jesus; and British statesmen of high repute, reserving their countenance for idolatry, and seemingly more scared at the coming of a Carey or a Judson, than by an enemy's army of 50,000 men!

One would like to have a glimpse of these FIRST five Missionaries, who vanish, alas! and are no more heard of. Of one at least, Father Henry, "a man of merit," as Lafitau tells us, and the superior of the five, we know that he returned home, and became Bishop of Ceuta; but of his Missionary career we have only the commencement, which, however, was of so singular a character, that, but for the gravity of the subject, and the perfect good faith of the actors, there is nothing more ludicrous in Punch. It so happened that, on his voyage out, Cabral discovered Brazil; and the whole expedition were charmed, as well they might, by the noble harbour, the splendid rivers, the fertile soil, the beautiful scenery, and the gentle and mild barbarians, who flocked, wondering and admiring, to gaze upon the strangers. The rest of the story we must borrow from Father Lafitau, who evidently enjoys it:—

"Cabral, seeing the inhabitants apparently good and simple, but without any trace of religion, law, or civil Government, felt great compassion for them: and he requested Father Henry, the superior of the five Missionaries, a man of merit, who was afterwards Bishop of Ceuta, to preach to them the truths of the Gospel. This the Missionary did, in a very beautiful discourse in *Portuguese*, of which the savages, although very attentive, *did not understand one word*. But the Missionary had not the less merit before God, or less credit in the eyes of his own countrymen, who enjoyed his sermon exceedingly, thought it very convincing, and approved highly of his zeal." *Vol. I., p. 163.* A Protestant might insinuate that the saying mass in Latin was no bad introduction to the practice of preaching in an unknown tongue: at all events Father Henry seemed to have no misgivings, and the ceremony went off well.

The next Missionary we shall introduce to our readers was a man of quite another stamp; and we shall endeavour to let them know, in few words, what he did in Ceylon. But we have to leap over a century and a half. The star of the "Portugueses" was setting, as it rose, in blood; and the star of the "Hollanders" was now in the ascendant.

In the month of October, in the year of Grace, 1655, the Dutch, under their Governor and Commander-in-chief, Gerard Hulst, and "the very large and very fat" Major Van der Laan, a redoubtable soldier, and the terror of the Portuguese, laid siege to Colombo. It was fiercely attacked and valiantly defended. The prize, as the quaint old chronicle of the siege pithily remarks, was "a whole kingdom, three times bigger than Portugal itself, and much richer, and more plentiful, the very centre of the world, the richest tract of land under the sun, and with it (probably) all that is in possession of the Portuguese to the south of Cape Comorin." It cost the Dutch their General, who was mortally wounded by a musket ball, and the lives of many brave soldiers; but, when the aged Coutinho, with his two hundred surviving countrymen, "who looked more like skeletons than living men," and "who had defended themselves like lions set upon by a multitude of Dutch dogs," surrendered the place in May, 1656, Ceylon changed masters, after a servitude of one hundred and fifty bloody years.

It must be remembered that, though the Portuguese held the coast and engrossed the trade, the native princes were formidable and warlike, and that there was inveterate hatred between them and the insolent and domineering foreigners. It was therefore always the standing policy of the Portuguese to foment disputes in the Royal family, to set up rival claimants to the throne, and, by *all* means, to breed civil dissensions and strife. The history of their dominion in Ceylon is marked by a continual succession of the blackest treachery, of murders, assassinations, and battles and sieges, where mercy was neither shown nor expected on either side. When the Dutch entered on the scene, it was at the call of a Singalese monarch; and, though with them something of the more civilized usages of warfare began to prevail, the strife between them and their Portuguese rivals was embittered by the remorseless policy of gain, and all the rancour of hatred and intolerance, mis-called religious. Good Philip Baldæus himself was always ready with a thanksgiving sermon for every success of the victorious troops, whom he accompanied; and the priests on the other side, Jesuits and Capuchins alike, went a good way farther. The clergy, as it is told in the narrative of the siege already quoted, but especially the Capuchins, were "very assiduous in confessing the soldiers, in praying, and in doing all manner of good offices without intermission; and some of them would not be backward in being upon the guard with the soldiery, and giving the enemies ample proofs of their valour."

In that long and famous siege of Colombo, the foremost man in the garrison was the Jesuit, Damian Vieyra; indeed more than once, like the Homeric heroes, his single arm turned the tide of battle. His first appearance in action is thus chronicled in the narrative, written by one of the survivors of the siege,\* and to be found in Baldæus: "Father Damian Vieyra, the Jesuit, being employed in furthering this work (throwing up an entrenchment), a bullet, taking away a great piece of the wall, struck him on the head, so that he fell (as) dead upon the ground; but, soon recovering himself, he fell to his work again, his servant constantly attending him with a sword and fusée, *wherewith he did considerable execution*, being commonly one of the foremost in charging the enemy."

On the 12th of November, the Dutch made a general assault upon the city, which was very nearly successful. In one place, having forced their way into a narrow street, they were met by Diego de Souza, who, discharging a musquetoon, made them halt; "the same was done by Father Damian Vieyra, who, 'with another musquetoon, made such havoc among the enemy, that these two stopped their further progress." The Padres were not less busy in another part of the field. Father Antonio Nunez, a Jesuit, "with his drawn sword, 'threatened such as were ready to fly with present death;" and thus prevented a rout, which might have been fatal.

To do this fighting Jesuit justice, he was as eager to convert, as to kill, the Dutch; and many of the prisoners (seventy-four were taken) are said "to have been converted to 'the Catholic faith, by the indefatigable care of the Jesuits, 'and especially of Damian Vieyra."

His next exploit was on the 10th of April, when "Father 'Damian de Vieyra, (and two others,) did kill many of the 'enemy upon this occasion:" and, on the 13th of the same month, "Father Damian Vieyra killed a stout Hollander."

On the 18th, when going to visit a mine, he drew upon himself incautiously the fire of his own party, but "miraculously" escaped unhurt. "This happy escape was attributed 'to the prayers of Father Frey Luys, a Capuchin, to whom 'such as were going upon some desperate enterprize, used to 'recommend themselves."

On the 19th and 23rd, the stout father led two vigorous sallies, which had but indifferent success. On the night of the 27th, however, at the head of only seven companions, he broke into the Dutch trenches, and carried off most of the tools

\* Sir Emerson quotes it, as if written by the Governor, the venerable Antonio De Souza Coutinho; but this is a mistake.

of their workmen: and, on the 30th, he attacked their works, "sword in hand." On the 3rd of May, he was outside the fortifications, picking up the Dutch bullets; and on that same day, and on the 5th, we find father Damian, "who never staid behind on such like occasions," again engaged in vigorous sallies.

On the 7th of May, the Dutch made their last great assault, which, though it did not give them possession of the city, was so far successful as to render a capitulation inevitable. This was the last day of fighting; and all the Padres were in the very thick of it. Antonio Nunez, the Jesuit, "a pattern of virtue," was "shot at the gate of the bastion with a musket-ball, received afterwards a deep cut, and was at last slain by a hand grenade, after he had killed several of the enemy with his musketoon. The Rev. Father Paulo was wounded, as he was furnishing the combatants with fire works; as was likewise Father Manual Velles, who was touched by two bullets, without receiving the least harm 'from them.' Fathers Philipppo and Pedro de Castelbranco "were not behind-hand with the rest;" and, it need scarce be added, that Father Damian Vieyra "with his company, did "considerable mischief to the Dutch."

But if Father Damian was the Hector of the siege, though with a happier issue, the burly Major Van der Laan was its Achilles. His portrait is not flattered in the narrative; yet we fear, it is in the main but too correct. He is described, as "a mortal enemy of the Portugueses, and a zealous heretic," and as "massacring all he met with (sometimes twenty or 'thirty together) in cool blood, he having been often heard to 'say, that *If the Portugueses were at his disposal, he would cut 'them all off at one stroke.*" The climax, however, of Dutch atrocity, in the opinion of the chronicler at least, remains yet to be told. "My pen wants words," says he, "to express the 'affronts put upon the holy images by the heretics, whereof 'I will give you only one instance. They took the image of the 'holy Apostle, St. Thomas, and, after they had cut off the nose, 'ears, and arms, set it up for a mark to shoot at. Afterwards 'they knocked it full of great nails, and so shot it out of a 'mortar into our ditch, where it was taken up and carried to 'the Jesuits' College, by father Damian Vieyra and two others. 'But the Franciscans, laying claim to it, carried it in public 'procession to their Church, and placed it upon the high 'altar. Father Francisco St. Mattheus solemnized the day 'with a learned speech." It is hinted pretty broadly, that St. Thomas was not ungrateful; for, four days after, "the holy 'Thomas blessed us with the arrival of a certain Portuguese,

' named Simon Lopes de Basto, who left the Dutch, and ' came over to us, and did us most signal service in the siege." Whatever service this poor fellow did to his countrymen, he did none to himself; for the truculent Van der Laan, without the least respect for St. Thomas, hung the unfortunate De Basto on a gibbet, the very day that the Dutch entered the city.

But while the vultures fought thus fiercely over their prey with beak and claw, their wretched victim was torn to pieces between them. It is harrowing to read of the inhuman treatment of the miserable inhabitants of Colombo; and here at least the cold-blooded merciless cruelty of the Dutch far exceeds that of their ferocious rivals. The one murdered on the plea of necessity: the others, merely to embarrass the enemy. Again and again it is recorded, that, when food became scarce, the Portuguese drove out crowds of the natives beyond the gates. The first time, the Dutch kept the men to work in their mines and intrenchments, but, as Baldæus tells us, the women and children were *whipped* back to the city, with a threat, that, should they return again, the Dutch would hang them on gibbets. This threat, to the shame of humanity, was brutally fulfilled; and such of the poor wretches, as fled from the gibbet, were either shot down from the walls, or perished of famine, in the sight of both parties. No wonder that it was a common sight to see them, in their agony, "imploring heaven ' for assistance, and cursing those, who were the occasion of ' their misery."

Unfortunately, for the progress of truth, the world is not yet sufficiently up in its logic to distinguish between a cause and its supporters; and the Singalese, had they been ever so willing, had not the means. The Portuguese came upon them, as the old Sea-kings upon the shores of Britain. Fierce, rapacious, and insolent, they shrunk from no crime, and from no baseness, to quench their thirst for dominion and gold. Their course, from the starting point to the goal, was marked by a long track of blood: and it is difficult to say whether the natives looked upon them with more of fear, or abhorrence. But this was not the only obstacle against which Christianity had to contend. It was not the fashion, three centuries ago, to have a religion for the family or the individual, but to have none for public or national guidance. The Portuguese always set their religion in the fore-front: and the Singalese and Tamils had no cause to suspect that they were other than they professed to be—true and zealous followers of Jesus. It would have been better for the new faith to have been brought in by enemies, than by such allies. The timid and oppressed

islanders must have listened to them with feelings, which we can only conceive of, by supposing Kirke's "Lambs" expounding the Sermon on the Mount to the peasantry of Somerset after the defeat of Monmouth. Unluckily, it was not the Sermon on the Mount that the Portuguese took to expounding. Even from their rude lips and bloody hands, the great truths of the Gospel might have found their way to the heart. But the Gospel was never heard or seen by the Singalese; and the religion of their masters, as taught even by its priests, appeared under the guise of a few questions and answers learned by rote, the Pater Noster, the Hail Mary, a few prayers to the saints, great variety of beads, metals and crucifixes, and a splendid abundance of ceremony, show, and *tamasha*.

It must not be forgotten, that the natives of Ceylon, in common with all the Hindu race, whether Buddhists, or Brahmans, had a religious repugnance to the taking away of life, and considered it a sin to kill even an insect. We pass no sentence on Nunez and Vieyra, and the other priests and friars, who did such soldierly service at the siege of Colombo; but, we ask, when the natives of Ceylon saw these priests, grim with smoke, and reeking with blood, killing and slaying others (also calling themselves followers of Christ), what did, or what could, they think of the new faith, by which, it seemed, such things were permitted?

But it mattered little to the Portuguese Government and priesthood, what the natives thought of this faith, provided they were baptized into it: and to this latter work they set themselves in earnest. Unfortunately we know very little of the measures they employed. The grand figure of Xavier appears for a moment on the canvas; but all that concerns his doings in Ceylon is vague and unsatisfactory. We hope to have another opportunity of reviewing at length his remarkable career; so that, even if materials were ready, we would pass it over for the present. Sir Emerson, who seems to have consulted all the more easily accessible memorials, is driven to conjecture and analogy; and, though he reaches firm ground, when he deals with the results, he can only guess, more or less happily, as to the means which were employed to produce them. The records of the Government, he informs us in a note, were transferred to Goa, thence to Lisbon, and finally to Brazil; and are therefore lost to the public. Probably these and the letters of the Missionaries may yet be recovered; but in the mean time we are left to the Dutch accounts, and to conjecture.

The great cause of the apparent progress of Christianity in Ceylon, where vast numbers were baptized, and where, in a very



few years, almost the entire population of the Peninsula of Jaffna publicly abjured idolatry, was beyond all doubt the influence and authority of the Government. We have an authentic copy of the instructions of John, king of Portugal, to the Viceroy of India, John De Castro, sent out in the year 1546; and it was in 1548 that the Missionary exertions of the Portuguese may be said to have fairly begun. Sir James makes the somewhat extraordinary assertion, that "there is no proof that compulsion was resorted to by them for the extension of their own faith, or violence employed for the extinction of the national superstitions," *p.* 8;—and he returns to this assertion, and repeats it again and again. We call this an extraordinary assertion, because he refers in a note to the letter of King John. The following are the opening sentences of that letter, which Sir J. E. Tennent does not quote:—

"TO JOHN DE CASTRO, *Viceroy of India.* All happiness:—  
 ' You knowing what an abominable thing idolatry is in  
 ' our eyes, the same shall for the future not be tolerated in  
 ' my dominions. Being informed that, in the country about  
 ' Goa, the Pagan temples are suffered and frequented both in  
 ' public and private, as well as divers sorts of Pagan diver-  
 ' sions, we command you once for all to have the same *demo-*  
 ' *lished, burnt, and rooted out*; and that all imaginable care be  
 ' taken to prevent the importation of idols, either of wood,  
 ' metal, earth, or any other matter. The heathenish sports  
 ' shall be abolished; and the Brahmans not in the least encour-  
 ' aged; and such, as contravene this our mandate, *shall be*  
 ' *severely punished.*" Now it is quite true that the zealous  
 monarch does not, in as many words, give orders that his  
 new subjects shall be compelled to become Christians; but he  
 enacts, that if they continue Heathens, they shall be "severely  
 punished", whereas, if they come over to the new faith, the fol-  
 lowing rewards are held out to them;—

"And considering that the Pagans may be brought over to  
 ' our religion, not only by the hopes of eternal salvation, *but*  
 ' *also by temporal interest and preferments*, you shall not for the  
 ' future bestow any offices, or any other places in the custom-  
 ' house (as has been practised hitherto) upon the Heathens, but  
 ' *only upon the Christians.*" In addition, the new converts  
 were to be exempted from impressment in the navy; nine  
 hundred quarters of rice were to be distributed among them  
 yearly from the royal revenue (so early was the origin of the  
 "rice Christians"); the Christian fishermen were to be allowed to  
 dispose of their pearls at their own price, and Xavier was to be  
 consulted, whether it might not be expedient to give them the

monopoly of the pearl fishery, excluding the Heathens and Muhammadans altogether; and the Viceroy, in the conclusion of the letter, is again exhorted "to encourage such as embrace 'Christianity, by your favour, presents, and otherwise.'" It would seem, therefore, that unless the Portuguese Government proceeded to the full extent of putting every idolator to death, they could scarcely have adopted more stringent and vigorous measures for the extinction of the Heathen faiths, and the propagation of their own. We fully agree, however, in Sir James's conclusion.

"Those acquainted," he writes, "with the national character of the Singalese, with their obsequiousness to power, and the pliancy with which they can accommodate themselves to the wishes and opinions of those whom it may be their interest to conciliate, will have no difficulty in comprehending the ease, with which the Roman Catholic clergy, under such auspices and with such facilities, succeeded, in an incredibly short space of time, in effecting multitudinous conversions."—*p. 9.* Seen in this light, and as we read of it in his own letters, the success of even a Xavier shrinks into very moderate dimensions;—but ill according with the magniloquent tone and triumphant appeals of Cardinal Wiseman, and such like dishonest or ill-read partisans, in former days, as well as in our own.

But what were the Missionaries themselves about, while the Government were labouring so strenuously in their behalf? That is exactly what we find it so hard to discover. However, though Sir James Tennent makes more than one mistake, he is evidently on the right path; and, if he has not found the whole truth, he has found something very near it:—

Here the question naturally arises, by what agency and expedients were these multitudinous conversions accomplished, in defiance of the notorious antagonism of the Brahmanical system? And the inquiry becomes the more interesting, from the fact, that the success of the Roman Catholic clergy at this period appears to have been more extended and complete, amongst the apparently impracticable Hindus of the North, than it afterwards proved amongst the pliant and apathetic adherents of Buddha in the Southern and purely Singalese portions of the island. Amongst the latter a commencement was effected, in the first instance, by the influence of authority and the prospect of gain; and, however unsound and discreditable may have been their earlier incentives to nominal conversion, there is palpable evidence to establish the fact, that, once enrolled as Roman Catholics, the imagination of the Singalese became excited, and their tastes permanently captivated, by the same striking ceremonial and pompous pageantry, by which the Roman Catholic religion recommended itself at a later period to the Tamils and Hindus.

When Christianity was first preached to the natives of India by Xavier, it was proclaimed by him with much of the simplicity and apostolical zeal, which have since characterised the ministrations of his Protestant successors. But, notwithstanding the multitude of his converts, St. Francis has recorded in his letters to St. Ignatius Loyola his own disappointment at discovering the inward unsoundness of

all he had outwardly achieved ;\* and the open apostacy, which afterwards manifested itself among his converts, suggested to those, who succeeded him in his task, the necessity of adopting a more effectual machinery for arousing the attention of the Hindus, and overcoming their repugnance to the reception of Christianity. The Jesuits, who resorted in prodigious numbers to Hindostan during the period which followed the death of Xavier, persuaded themselves, by the partial failure of his system, that no access was to be gained, and no footing established in the confidence of the natives, without an external conformity to their customs and habits, and a careful avoidance of any shock to their prejudices, religious and social. Under the cover of such a policy, it was conceived that a silent approach might be effected, and the edifice of their ancient superstition undermined, almost before its defenders could discover that its assailants were opponents. In pursuance of this plan of assault, Christianity, in the hands of those by whom it was next offered to the heathen, assumed an aspect so extraordinary, that the detail would exceed belief, were it not attested by the evidence of those actually engaged in the execution of the scheme. The Jesuits, who now addressed themselves to the conversion of Hindostan, adopted the determination to become all things to all men for the accomplishment of their object ; withholding, till some more favourable time, the inculcation of Christian simplicity, and adopting in the interim, almost without qualification, the practices of heathenism. To such an extent did they carry this policy, that, in the charges which were eventually lodged against them before the Holy See by the other religious orders in India, it was alleged to be doubtful, whether the Jesuits, by affecting idolatry and tolerating it amongst their proselytes, had not themselves become converts to Hinduism, rather than made the Hindoos converts to the Christian religion.†

They assumed the character of Brahmans of a superior caste from the Western World ; they took the Hindu names, and conformed to the heathen customs of this haughty and exclusive race, producing, in support of their pretensions, a deed forged in ancient characters, to show that the Brahmans of Rome were of much older date than the Brahmans of India, and descended in an equally direct line from Brahma himself.

They composed a pretended Veda, in which they sought to insinuate the doctrines of Christianity in the language and phraseology of the sacred books of the Hindoos.‡ They wore the *cavy*, or orange robe, peculiar to the Saniassis, the fourth, and one of the most venerated sections of the Brahmanical caste. They hung a tiger's skin from their shoulders, in imitation of Shiva ; they abstained from animal food, from wine, and certain prohibited vegetables ; they performed the ablutions required by the Shasters ; they carried on their foreheads the sacred spot of sandal-wood powder, which is the distinctive emblem of the Hindus ;§ and in order to sustain their assumed character to the utmost, they affected to spurn the Pariahs and lower castes, who lay no claim to the same divine origin with the Brahmans.||

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As these proceedings were in progress in India, during the period when similar exertions were simultaneously made in Ceylon, by the priesthood of the same

\* Letters on the State of Christianity in India, in which the conversion of the Hindus is considered as impracticable. By the Abbé Dubois, Missionary in Mysore. London, 1823. P. 3.

† Letters of the Abbé Dubois, p. 8. A striking account of these almost incredible proceedings of the Jesuits, extracted from the authority of contemporary Roman Catholic writers, is contained in the *Calcutta Review* for October, 1844, vol. ii.

‡ See Asiatic Researches, vol. xiv., for an account of the spurious, or *Ezour Vedam*.

§ " *Their spot is not the spot of his children : a perverse and crooked generation.*" —Deut. xxxii. 5.

|| Letters on the State of Christianity in India. By the Abbé Dubois. P. 5, 69, 70, 130.—Hough's Reply to the Abbé Dubois, p. 62.—History of Christianity in India, By the Rev. J. Hough. Vol. iii. b. v. c. 3, p. 216, 250.

Church, trained in the same seminaries for the work of the ministry, and acting under the orders of the same spiritual superiors, there would be sufficient grounds, even in the absence of evidence more direct, for presuming that the same expedients, which had been found to be effectual, if not presumed to be indispensable, for the conversion of Hindus in India, would be equally resorted to for the same purpose amongst the Tamils and Buddhists of Ceylon. And in aid of such an inference there is abundance of circumstantial proofs, that such, to some extent at least, was the fact. Baldæus, who repaired to Jaffaa in A. D. 1658, immediately on the retirement of the Roman Catholic priests, describes their churches as fitted up with theatres and stages for the exhibition of mysteries and theatrical representations of the great historical events of Christianity.

The archives of the Dutch Government contain records of the punishment of Roman Catholics, who, in defiance of their prohibition, attempted public processions within their territories;\* and, to the present day, the Roman Catholics in the north of the island continue to celebrate their worship with fireworks and drums, and encompass their chapels with processions, conducting decorated cars, bearing idols and garlands, which differ only in name from similar observances and processions of the Hindus.—Pp. 14-17, and 21-22.

The reference, which Sir James makes to an article, that formerly appeared in this *Review*, and the facts and opinions which he founds upon it, afford us an opportunity (long wished for) of noticing a late work on the Madura Mission, with which we have been favoured by the courtesy of a distinguished Jesuit, now in Southern India, with the view of leading us to re-consider the statements we then advanced. The work is entitled, *La Mission du Maduré, d'après des documents inédits; par Le P. J. Bertrand, &c.: Paris: 1847.* Only two volumes have reached us; but they include the rise of the Madura Mission, and nearly the whole of the strange and eventful life of Robert De' Nobili, its founder and ruling spirit. We have read these volumes with much curiosity and eager interest; and we have found them, to our sorrow, impressing still more strongly on our minds the conviction, that all the details of that wretched story were strictly according to the truth.

The forbidden practices, and Heathen adaptations; the merchandise—the pretended Veda—the Saniassi's robe—the assumption of Brahmanism—the denial of European extraction—and, in fact, all that makes up the body of that long and marvellous lie, are fully admitted in the work. But Robert De' Nobili was a man of singular powers, and of vast perseverance and ability: and we suppose it is, because his motives were indisputably excellent, and because he equivocated more skilfully, and defended his proceedings with more subtlety and eloquence, than any of his successors, that the work in question has been placed at our disposal. An abler and more devoted Missionary indeed never came to India. His long and

\* Records of the Consistory of Colombo, A. D. 1753.

laborious life was one continued scene of toil, privation, anxiety, and disappointment; and his very success\* must have been gall and worm-wood to a mind like his; for his most zealous converts gave him unequivocally to understand, that they never would belong to the faith of the Feringhis: and he knew that discovery was ruin. Yet upon the brink of that discovery he always stood; and he was driven, by the dread of it, to equivocations and oaths, that make the blood run cold.

We have room for but two pictures from the works. They exhibit him in his prosperity, and in his hour of trial; and they leave the same painful impression. The first is the account of his visit to a native Heathen Prince, who received him undoubtingly as a genuine Saniassi and Brahman.

"Father Robert presented himself at the palace of Ramasandra with his usual *suite*. The following is the ceremonial of such visits. Converted Brahmans and some of the chief Christians surround the Missionary, with a respectful and composed mien; one carries his breviary; another, his parasol; a third, the tiger's skin, on which he is to seat himself; a fourth, a beautifully-wrought vase of holy water; a fifth, rose-water to sprinkle the place of his reception. As soon as the state-room is reached, a kind of frenzy seems to seize on every one, except the Saniassi, who, in the midst of the universal hubbub, must preserve an imperturbable calm. The Christians and the people of the palace rush hither and thither in haste and eagerness. Holy water is presented to the Saniassi, who flings some drops of it on the place where he is about to sit; rose-water is profusely scattered around; three or four men lay hold of the tiger's skin, which they spread on the ground with great demonstrations of zeal

\* In the letter which accompanied the work, we are supposed to be indebted for part of our materials to the French philosophers. This is a mistake. We were not even aware that the subject had ever engaged their attention.

But we think De' Nobili, who was familiar with the most intellectual society of his time, exhibits not a little of the spirit of the "philosopher" in the following account of a miracle. It appears that the Heathens, on a certain festival, cooked and ate boiled rice and milk, with great solemnity; and that De' Nobili allowed his Christians to keep up the custom, hanging a crucifix over the pot, and he himself, to their great delight, consecrating the rice. In connection with this piece of baptized heathenism, he writes to his Provincial:—"For three years, while one Dada Murti continued a Heathen, his rice would not boil. This year, having become a Christian, he hesitated awhile, but at last resolved to try again with fear and trembling. It is needless to say that he took good care not to forget the cross. Speedily he saw his rice boil with large bubbles. The joy was so great, that instantly his children ran to me to tell me the good news. Your paternity will laugh at me, and say, this is childishness. What would you have? I become a child with the children.—And, besides, these 'bagatelles' are grand affairs for our Hindus: all serves to attach them to religion, and to confirm them in the faith."—*Bertrand*, Vol. ii. pp. 29-30. *Bagatelles* forsooth!—a somewhat sceptical name for a miracle!

‘ and devotion. At last the Saniassi, ever grave, ever majestic, advances to the carpet; he crosses his legs; he sits down! Then the Prince presents himself to salute him, and, placing himself by his side, enters into conversation with him. On the present occasion, this *curious* ceremonial was punctually gone through; only Ramasandra, passing beyond the ordinary etiquette, prostrated himself respectfully at the feet of Father Robert.”—*Vol. ii. pp. 226-227.*

Here the deception was triumphant. Was the deceiver satisfied, when he saw this idolatrous prince prostrate at his feet? It is not permitted to us to read the secrets of the heart.

We turn now to the other side of the medal.

It so happened that a Christian from the coast, either from vanity, anger, or the hope of gain, let out the truth. He informed the neophytes, that “by baptism they had lost caste, and were reduced to the level of the Pariahs and Feringhis; that the salt, put into their mouths, and the other baptismal ceremonies, were the means employed for this purpose; and that the Saniassi was a Feringhi himself.” This took place in 1610. “This wretch,” writes Father Albert Laerzio, Provincial of Malabar, “managed to give his falsehoods (*ses fanissetés*) such an appearance of plausibility, that he convinced the neophytes of their truth.” De’Nobili perceived the full extent of the danger, to which “this devilish invention” exposed his beloved Mission. “It was evidently necessary to triumph over the calumny, or to leave the country.” He accordingly sate down, and made a solemn written declaration, of which a translation, “*à peu près*,” (not very literal, we fear) is given by Laerzio. We quote from it one or two paragraphs. “Some men, who know me not, have published black calumnies against me. For fear, that virtuous souls, allowing themselves to be deceived, may sin through credulity, I shall answer these in all sincerity (*en toute sincérité*!). I am not a Feringhi: I was not born in the land of the Feringhis, nor do I belong to their caste. God is my witness! and, if I tell a lie, besides that I make myself a traitor to my God and subject to the torments of Hell, I offer myself on this earth to every punishment. I was born at Rome: my family there holds the same rank as the noble rajahs of this country. From my youth, I embraced the condition of a Saniassi;”—&c. &c. It will be seen that the equivocation here turns upon the meaning of the word “Feringhi,” which he chooses to restrict to the Portuguese, as if it was not applied to Europeans in general; and, as if his being an Italian, made any difference as to the main question—the question of caste. He tells them also that

he traversed "many realms" to come to Madura; but says not a word of the sea.\* Such base and unworthy equivocating is more degrading than a plain honest lie: it is a removing of the land-marks appointed to divide between truth and falsehood; and the solemn appeal to God is utterly revolting. If that highly gifted man, with his prodigious energy and his long and laborious life, had but preached the truth with as much zeal, as he displayed for falsehood, the name of Robert de'Nobili might this day have been second only to those of the Apostles. What gall of spirit, what impatient champing of the bit, which he had fixed so securely in his own mouth, must have been the daily portion of a man, whose constant terror, hanging over him like the sword suspended by the hair, was the fear of "being found out!"

For this digression, into which we have been tempted but too willingly by the example of Sir James, we must crave the indulgence of our readers; for, except in so far as it shows how unscrupulous the Jesuits were in the use of means to propagate their system, the doings in Madura have no connection with the doings in Ceylon. In the one, we saw a few foreigners stealing into an independent country in disguise, afraid openly to profess their faith, and ashamed of, or at least rejecting with professed scorn and abhorrence, their own race and country. In the other, it was precisely the contrary. They gloried in their faith and in their name. They preached with a high hand and a loud voice; and, instead of trembling before their wrath, their foot was on the neck of the Heathen. Most assuredly the priests in Ceylon never deigned to turn themselves into pseudo-Saniassis, or Brahmins; and, according to their light, they spoke and acted the truth.

It is evident enough that the Government made the converts. Probably the Missionaries taught there, as elsewhere, by medals, chaplets, and crucifixes, by a few prayers and forms learned by rote, and, as we have already written, by skilful adaptations from the Heathen faith, by not expecting too much, and by pomp, show, and ceremonial. We may believe also, that they taught something of the morality and doctrines of the Gospel, and of the danger and guilt of sin: although no distinct notice of such teaching has reached us. But, hastening from what is obscure and doubtful, to what stands out in the light of

\* This evidently refers to the story, which Norbert relates, that Rome was beyond the Himalaya, and the original seat of the Brahmins. The Christians of Madura knew nothing of Rome. They had heard that they had lost caste, by eating with a foreigner: and this they would have done, just as much, if he had been born at Rome, as if he had been born in Lisbon. There is therefore no room left for doubt, that De'Nobili knowingly and deliberately intended to deceive.—ED.

day, we borrow Sir James's summary of the results of their teaching:—

Thus limited to exertion within the bounds of their own territory, the Portuguese clergy appear to have proceeded sedulously in their work of conversion; and no relic of their rule exhibits more clearly the extent, to which their influence had pervaded all ranks and classes, than the fact that, to this day, the most distinguished families among the Singhalese chiefs bear, in addition to their own names, those of the Portuguese officers, which were conferred on their ancestors at their baptism by the Roman Catholic clergy, three centuries ago.\* The adhesion of these men, however, and of the great mass of the Singhalese, was the result of political conformity, not of religious conviction; and there is no reason to doubt, that along with the profession of the new faith, the majority of them, like the Singhalese of the present time, cherished with still closer attachment the superstitions of Buddhism.† It is difficult, on any other ground, to account satisfactorily for the readiness with which so many thousands of the Singhalese consented, almost without solicitation, and altogether without conviction or enlightenment, to adopt a religion, which was so utterly new, and whose tenets must have been so entirely unknown to them. It was, in fact, an adoption without a surrender of opinion; and, if any scruples were seriously felt respecting the change, they must have been speedily overcome by the prospect of personal advancement, and by the attractions of a religion, which, in point of pomp and magnificence, surpassed, without materially differing from, the pageantry and processions, with which they were accustomed to celebrate the festivals of their own national faith.—*Pp.* 28-29.

We have now come down to the period, when their “High Mightinesses,” the Dutch, became the paramount power in Ceylon. When they entered on the stage, much was naturally to have been expected from them. They had a pure faith; they came to the natives at their own entreaty, as deliverers, to rescue them from Portuguese oppression and insolence; and they were completely successful. They themselves had just thrown off the yoke of tyranny and superstition, and were in the first freshness of their freedom.

There was much therefore in the circumstances and mutual relationship of the two parties, that might have prompted in the one a desire to disseminate the pure word of God in all its freeness and fulness, and in the other, a willingness to receive it with gratitude, and a favourable pre-disposition. The spirit of intolerance, however, and the “*auri sacra fames*”—the accursed thirsting for gold—blasted this fair prospect from the very first. The spirit of the religion of those days looked out upon Heathenism and heresy with the eyes of the law, and not with the eyes of the gospel. The first plea for tolerance was then raising a feeble voice in England, amongst the des-

\* *Ernest de Saram* Wijeyesekere Karoonaratne, Maha Modliar of the Governor's Gato; *Johan Louis Pereira* Abeysekere Goonewardene; *Don Andries de Alwis* Ameresiriwardene Goonetilleke; *Don David de Silva* Welaratne Jayetilleke; *Don William Adrian Dias* Banderanayake; *Gregory de Soysa* Wijeyegooneratne Siriwardene, &c. &c. The first are the baptismal, or Portuguese—the second the patronymic Singhalese names of the respective chiefs.

† “Il avoit fait semblant de se convertir, comme font tous les Chingulais, et étoit demeuré idolâtre.”—Note of the French Editor of Ribeyro. Paris, 1791. Liv. ii. c. i. p. 200.



pised sect of the Independents; but, elsewhere, it was the undoubting conviction of all Christendom, Protestant as well as Papal, that heresy was to be put down with the sword. Enlightened public opinion is a work of time and gradual progress; and truly, even in this nineteenth century, to preach the truth in love is by no means a common accomplishment. At all events, the Dutch in Ceylon understood it no better than their Portuguese predecessors: and their policy, political and theological, was almost as much like that of their predecessors as two drops of water. They had learned no other lesson from Alva than that of retaliation; and, instead of coming out of the furnace like tried gold, they came out hard and pitiless as tempered steel. Before the blood was dry, which had been shed so profusely, they faithlessly violated the solemn compact which they had made with the Singalese monarch, and, without reason or excuse, kept for themselves the conquests, which they professed to make for him. Hence the same horrible succession of war, treachery, murder, avarice and oppression, which left such indelible stains on the Portuguese domination.

We can scarcely believe, or understand, the savage ferocity, which characterized that warfare—whose only object was gold. The horrors of “the Black Hole” were gentle mercies to the treatment of the English at Amboyna, or the cruelty inflicted on the Portuguese at Jaffnapatam. Shortly after the surrender of that place (where by the way not less than forty Portuguese ecclesiastics, Franciscans, Jesuits and Dominicans, were found), in the year 1658, a plot was discovered (or rather the failure of a plot, for it had failed,) to rise upon the Dutch garrison. “Not long after,” writes Baldaus, who was an eyewitness of the whole, “most of the traitors having confessed their crimes, some were condemned to be hanged, others to be beheaded, and some to be broken on the wheel. The three chief heads, of this conspiracy, were a certain inhabitant of Manaar, one Don Luis, and another Portuguese. These three were laid upon the wheel, or a cross; and, after they had received a stroke with the axe in the neck and on the breast, had their entrails taken out, *and their hearts laid on their mouths!* A certain Jesuit, named Caldero, was beheaded. This unfortunate person, being prevented by sickness from going along with the rest of the Portuguese clergymen, had not been concerned in this treacherous design, much less given his consent to it: but some of the traitors having given notice thereof to him by letters, wherein they styled him ‘the father of their souls,’ he was unwilling to betray his countrymen, for which he paid now with his head. Eleven more were hanged, and afterwards exposed in the

' open country on trees ; but the heads of the ring-leaders were  
' fixed upon poles in the market-place."

It is to be feared that many of our own transactions in India are altogether alien from the spirit and teaching of the faith, which we profess and represent; but nothing more clearly shows the great advance of Christian principle in public opinion, than our treatment of Múlráj and the Sikh Sirdars, as contrasted with the fate, that would have awaited them, only two centuries ago. In the Dutch character and proceedings, as manifested in Ceylon, there was nothing to distinguish them politically from the Portuguese; nothing to elicit any feeling towards Christianity, but those of hatred and abhorrence.

The history of their Missionary system needs not detain us long. They persecuted the Roman Catholics bitterly, and followed slavishly in their footsteps. If their system differed from that of the others, it was chiefly in being less attractive. Its appeal to temporal motives was as coarse;\* its persecuting spirit was as unrelenting; and, if it was altogether free from the more vulgar forms of superstition, it was cold, superficial, and ineffective, and wanted that fascinating apparatus of show, and pomp, and gaudy amusements, which chimed in so well with the oriental mind. Besides, the Romish Missionaries were equally zealous, better acquainted with the native languages and modes of thought, and far more numerous than their Dutch contemporaries; and, when to these advantages and 100 years of priority, was added the natural feeling of sympathy enkindled by persecution, it is no wonder that the Portuguese Mission-work, such as it was, has been more deeply rooted, and more abiding than the Dutch. Baldæus himself, a zealous and indefatigable minister of Christ, in many respects in advance of his age, and sincerely and conscientiously desiring to do all the good in his power amongst natives, would have shut up the Muhammadan schools; and praises Mr. Pavilloen, the Governor of Jaffnapatam, "for that he did all that in him lay ' to assist me (at my request) in stopping the progress of ' Pagan superstitions." What this was, and how far he carried it, is but too apparent from the following quotation:—

\* "Proclamation was publicly made," writes Sir Emerson (p. 45) "that no native could aspire to the rank of Modliar, or even be permitted to farm land, or hold office under Government, who had not first undergone the ceremony of baptism, become a member of the Protestant Church, and subscribed to the doctrines contained in the *Helvetic Confession of Faith*! The operation of this announcement was such as may be readily anticipated. Many of the lowland chiefs, who had been recently baptized by the Portuguese, and who still bore the family names conferred upon them by their Catholic sponsors, came forward to abjure the errors of Rome—and even Brahmans of Jaffna and Manaar, unwilling to forego the prospects of dignity and emolument, which were attainable upon such easy conditions, made a ready profession of Christianity, although they for bore to lay aside the beads and other symbols of Heathenism."

"It is further to be feared, that in time there may be a promiscuous copulation betwixt the Christians and the Pagans, which must needs produce direful effects in the Church. It may be objected, that severe punishments will put a stop to that evil, *some having been already punished with death upon that account*; but this does not altogether remove the danger. Besides, that it ought to be considered, whether such a severity be consonant to the word of God, or not."

But the main fury of the Dutch was expended on the Roman Catholics—and (as might have been expected from the nature of the weapons they employed) expended in vain. The following summary, from the pages of Sir J. E. Tennent, shows how fierce and unrelenting that persecution was:—

The same fury against the Church of Rome continued at all times to inspire the policy of the Dutch in Ceylon; and their resistance to its priesthood was even more distinct and emphatic than their condemnation of the Buddhists and Brahmans. In 1658, a proclamation was issued, forbidding, on pain of death, the harbouring or concealing of a Roman Catholic priest;\* but such a threat was too iniquitous to be carried into execution; and the priests continued their ministrations in defiance of the law. In 1715, a proclamation was issued, prohibiting public assemblies, or private conventicles of the Roman Catholics, under heavy fines for the first and second offence, and chastisement, at the discretion of the magistrate, for the third.† In the same year, by a plakaat, which was afterwards renewed from time to time, it was forbidden for a Catholic clergyman to administer baptism under any circumstances;‡ and in 1733, the proclamation of 1658 was republished against entertaining or giving lodging to a priest,§ but with no better success; for, twelve years later, the same sanguinary order had to be repeated|| by a fresh plakaat of the Governor. In 1748, it was forbidden to educate a Roman Catholic for the ministry;¶ but within three years it was found necessary to repeat the same prohibition, as well as to renew the proclamation for putting down the celebration of the mass.\*\* Notwithstanding every persecution, however, the Roman Catholic religion retained its influence, and held good its position in Ceylon. It was openly professed by the immediate descendants of the Portuguese, who had remained in the island after its conquest by the Dutch; and in private it was equally adhered to by large bodies of the natives, both Singhalese and Tamils, whom neither corruption nor coercion could induce to abjure it.—*Pp.* 40-42.

Xavier and the Jesuits, and indeed the Roman Catholic Missionaries generally, had perceived the vast importance of education, in preparing the way for Christianity, as well as for giving it a form and abiding lodgment in the national mind; and, accordingly, with very inadequate means, and a miserably low

\* Dutch Records. Colombo. Proclamation, dated 19th September, 1658. Renewed by Proclamation, 10th August, 1743.

† Ibid. Proclamation, 11th January, 1715. Renewed 1751, by Proclamation of 31st July, "for prohibiting the intrusion of Roman Catholic priests, and holding private or public meetings, under pain of severe punishment."

‡ Ibid. Proclamation, 8th August, 1715. Renewed 25th February, 1745.

§ Ibid. Proclamation, 25th March, 1733.

|| Ibid. Proclamation, 25th February, 1745.

¶ Dutch Records. Proclamation, 10th August, 1748.

\*\* Ibid. Proclamation, 31st July, 1751.

standard of what was desirable, they laboured zealously in the work. Baldæus honestly confesses, that he followed their example, teaching however the elements of a purer faith in the churches and schools, from which they had been driven. He says that they (and especially the Paulites, or Jesuits) taught both old and young the first rudiments of the christian religion, as the Ten Commandments, the Creed, Our Father, &c., with indefatigable care and industry; "and I am free to confess," he adds with honesty and candour, "that I have frequently followed their footsteps in reforming the churches and schools in Manaar and Jaffnapatam, as far as they were consistent with our religion, and consonant to the genius of these nations." Unfortunately right views were then unknown; the standard was miserably low; and the system altogether and fundamentally erroneous. This is well pointed out by Sir Emerson:—

*Education*, in the proceedings of the Dutch clergy, was in almost every instance made available for pioneering the way for the preaching of Christianity. The school-house in each village became the nucleus of a future congregation; and here, whilst the children received elementary instruction, they and the adults were initiated in the first principles of Christianity. Baptism was administered, and marriages solemnized in the village school-houses; and, in order to confer every possible importance on these rural institutions, the schoolmasters appointed by the scholarchal commission had charge of the *thombos*, or registers, of the district, in which these events were recorded, and thus became the depositaries of the evidence on which the rights and succession to property were mainly dependent.

The course of education in the village schools was limited and the instruction gratuitous: but the most remarkable feature in the system was that the attendance of the pupils was *compulsory*, and enforced by the imposition of fines upon the parents. These fines were the cause of continued refractoriness amongst the natives, dishonesty amongst the teachers, and annoyance to the commission; but experience had demonstrated that their rigid enforcement was the only effective expedient for maintaining attendance at the schools.—*Pp.* 46-47.

We have carefully avoided encumbering this sketch of the Portuguese and Dutch Missions by a deceptive and misleading enumeration of the numbers, who nominally joined the Christian Church. The very same moderation of statement, which, as Sir Emerson justly remarks, leads Baldæus and Valentyn to lament that the great majority of the converts were Pagans at heart, and Christians only by baptism and in name, wins credit to their assurance, that there were not a few genuine and enlightened converts among them, whose life and morals and evangelical belief were not behind those of cotemporary European Christians. But the influence of these men died with them. They were the "happy accidents" of a system, which ended in the most signal failure that ecclesiastical history records. We shall borrow Sir Emerson's eloquent and masterly

account of this catastrophe, and the causes which seem mainly to have brought it about:—

Whatever may have been the instrumentality resorted to by the Portuguese priesthood, and however objectionable the means adopted by them for the extension of their own form of Christianity, one fact is unquestionable, that the natives became speedily attached to their ceremonies and modes of worship, and have adhered to them with remarkable tenacity for upwards of three hundred years; whilst, even in the midst of their own ministrations, the clergy and Missionaries of the reformed Church of Holland were overtaken by discouragement; and it is a remarkable fact, that notwithstanding the multitudinous baptisms, and the hundreds of thousands of Singhalese, who were enrolled by them as converts, the religion and discipline of the Dutch Presbyterians is now almost extinct amongst the natives of Ceylon. Even in Jaffna, where the reception of these doctrines was all but unanimous by the Tamils, not a single congregation is now in existence of the many planted by Baldæus, and tended by the labours of Valentyn and Schwartz; and, in Colombo and throughout the maritime provinces, there are not at this moment fifty native Singhalese, even amongst the aged and infirm, who still profess the form of religion so authoritatively established and so anxiously pronounced by the Dutch.

The causes of this failure, however, are neither few nor obscure. Irrespective of the unsubdued influences of idolatry and caste, the doctrines of Christianity were too feebly developed, and too superficially inculcated, to make any lasting impression on the reluctant or apathetic minds of the natives of Ceylon. The Dutch ministers employed in their dissemination failed to qualify themselves for the task by mastering in the first instance the vernacular tongues of the island;\* and the Consistory in vain insisted on the inefficacy of instruction, conveyed through the cold and unsatisfactory medium of interpreters.† In addition to this, their numbers were too few to render effectual aid to the multitude of their hearers; and in 1722, when the returns showed nearly half a million of nominal Christians, there were but fourteen clergymen in all Ceylon. Notwithstanding the clear perception, which the Dutch appear to have had of the salutary influence of elementary and moral instruction, in preparing the mind for rejecting the absurdities of heathenism, and embracing the pure precepts of Christianity, the amount of education, which they communicated in their schools, was infinitesimally small. It seldom went beyond teaching their pupils to read and to write in the language of their district; and even this was discouraged by the supreme authorities at Batavia, who, in communicating with the Missionaries of Ceylon, expressed strongly their opinion that “reading and writing are things not so absolutely necessary for the edification of these poor wretches, as teaching them the fundamentals of religion, which are contained in a very few points; and to pretend to propagate Christianity by reading and writing, would be both tedious and chargeable to the Netherland East India Company.”‡ Under a system so superficial and inefficient, the labour actually bestowed was productive of no permanent fruits; it was but seed sown on stony ground; it was scorched by the sun; and, because it had no root, it soon withered away.

Again, the system of political bribery, adopted by the Dutch, to encourage conversion amongst the Singhalese, was eminently calculated to create doubts and contempt in the naturally suspicious minds of the natives; whilst they could not fail to conclude, that there must be something defective or unreal in a religion, which required coercion and persecution to enforce its adoption. Where the former sys-

\* Out of a list of 97 clergymen in Ceylon, between 1642 and 1725, as given by Valentyn, only 8 were qualified to preach in the native languages, 4 in Tamil, and 4 in Singhalese. Hough, vol. iii. pp. 75-103.

† The Rev. Mr. Palm's Account, &c., pp. 5-8.

‡ Letter of M. Matzuyker, Governor-General of Batavia, to Baldæus, Sept. 18th, 1662. Baldæus, p. 811.

tem was apparently successful, it produced in reality but an organized hypocrisy ; and, when persecution ensued, its recoil and reaction were destructive of the objects for the furtherance of which it had been unwisely resorted to. And, lastly, the imprudence with which outward professors were indiscriminately welcomed as genuine converts to Christianity, involved the certainty of future discomfiture. The example of apostasy, under similar circumstances, is more dangerous in proportion than the encouragement wrought by adhesion ; and thus, the more widely the field was incautiously expanded, the more certain became the danger, and the more frequent the recurrence, of such untoward events. Towards the close of their career, the Dutch clergy had painful experience of this pernicious result ; and their lamentations became more frequent over the relapses of their converts, first into the errors of popery, and finally, into the darkness of heathenism.\* At length, in apparent despondency, and in painful anticipation of defeat, instead of altering the system, on which they had discovered that they could no longer rely, they merely contracted their Missionary operations to the narrowest possible limits ; cast upon others the labour, in which they were no longer hopeful of success ; and, at the final close of their ministrations, the clergy of the Church of Holland left behind a superstructure of Christianity, prodigious in its outward dimensions, but so internally unsound, as to be distrusted even by those who had been instrumental in its erection, and so unsubstantial, that it has long since disappeared almost from the memory of the natives of Ceylon.—*Pp.* 67-71.

When we remember also the vices and crimes of the Dutch, their national cruelty, covetousness and oppression, and that the ignorant and ill-taught natives would naturally judge of a faith by its professors, we need not be surprised at the failure of a system, so ill adapted to produce any abiding results.

One thing, that profoundly impressed itself on our mind, while reading the prolix, but deeply interesting, narrative of Baldæus, and the elegant *resumé* of Sir J. E. Tennent, is the utter lifelessness of the story—its want of all personal, or individual, interest. Amidst the countless converts in Ceylon, who figure so imposingly in statistical details, we have searched in vain for the *name* even of one man or one woman, whose life or death was remarkable, or of one incident, that might give spirit and locality to this great work. We read of schools, of churches, and of native Christians by hundreds of thousands ; but, in all that multitudinous array, extending over a period of more than two hundred years, we have searched in vain for a living breathing fact, or a single Singalese or Tamil Christian name. It is a dead statistical paper flat, without anecdote, fact, or biography. The history assumes the form of a census, with blank spaces for the figures, to be filled up from time to time, recording that there were so many missionaries, so many converts, so many churches, and so many schools. We have nothing of the moving accident, the picturesque details, the sketches of life and character, and the incidents, which brought the Heathens of Ceylon to the feet of Jesus. What would the

\* Ecclesiastical Report of the Gallo District. Records of the Colombo Consistory, 1767.

Acts of the Apostles be without Saul of Tarsus, and the jailor of Philippi, and Cornelius, and Lydia, and the eunuch of Ethiopia, and Stephen, and Apollos, and its incidental sketches of Agrippa, and Festus, and Felix, and Gallio, and its impressive notices of Simon Magus, and Ananias and Sapphira, and the awful end of the arch-betrayer himself? But the reader will search in vain for such details in the acts of the Missionaries of Ceylon. All there is hollow abstract generality.

It may be well, ere we turn to another era, to say a word or two on the result of the Romish Mission, which Sir Emerson, with the noble partiality of a high-minded opponent, seems inclined, in our opinion, to estimate beyond its real worth. It is true that it does survive, and (numerically) in imposing proportions; but, we think, a single quotation from the Roman Catholic authority, to which we have already alluded, will prove that we have to deal with a man of straw, and that Roman Catholic Christianity in Ceylon has made no advance, and is yet on the debateable ground between a low corrupt form of Christianity and Heathenism:—

“For ourselves, in spite of our sympathy towards the clergy of Ceylon, we must observe, 1st, that this clergy is a *regular* clergy; 2ndly, that it is *indigenous* to Ceylon, only and precisely as a colony of Italian priests would be an *indigenous* clergy in a diocese of France, or Belgium; for the clergy of Ceylon is entirely composed of persons, who have come from Goa, or its neighbourhood (a distance of more than three hundred leagues from Ceylon); *it does not contain a single Singalese*; the natives of Ceylon are excluded from it altogether, not only in fact, but on principle, whether on account of caste, or from other motives.” *Bertrand—La Mission du Maduré. tom i. p. 427.* A Christianity, which, after 300 years, cannot produce a single priest, or minister, is not to be spoken of in a vein of complacency or boasting.

The British Government now enters on the scene; and, whatever may have been the faults of that Government, its political rule contrasts most favourably with that of the Dutch and Portuguese. The English did not settle on the island, like a swarm of pirates, or plunderers; and the annals of their administration are comparatively free from treachery and blood. But we have neither the wish, nor any just ground, to flatter our countrymen. Their influence on native opinion, as it regarded Christianity, was equally disastrous with that of their predecessors. If the Portuguese and Dutch did harm through an ignorant and mistaken zeal, the English at first did quite as much by their utter disregard and indifference.

King Log had succeeded king Stork; and the frogs soon found out the difference. The people of Ceylon, says Sir Emerson, "prepared themselves to conform implicitly to whatsoever form of Christianity might be prescribed by the new Government." Indeed, for the first year or two, the Protestant converts increased rapidly: but, as soon as they found out that they were not to be paid for apostacy, that the converts were no longer to have a monopoly of Government favour and patronage, and that in point of fact the Government cared very little whether they became Christians or not—then the number of converts decreased with marvellous rapidity. In 1802, there were 136,000 nominal Protestants among the Tamils of Jaffna; in 1806, Buchanan describes "the fine old churches, as in ruins, but one Hindu Catechist in the province, and the Protestant religion extinct." In 1801, Cordiner estimated the number of Protestants in the Singalese districts at 342,000; in 1810, they had diminished to less than half that number, and many were yearly apostatizing to Buddha. "So low," says Sir Emerson, with a spice of quiet humour, "was the general estimation of Christianity amongst the Singalese, that it was known to them only as *'the religion of the East India Company.'*"

It must be confessed that we are a strange people. About the time, that the Governor-General was deporting Missionaries from Calcutta, the Secretary of State was engaged in writing a despatch to Sir Thomas Maitland, expressing anxiety and dissatisfaction at the encouragement apparently given to Paganism, and the neglect of the Ceylon Government to provide for the extension and establishment of Christianity among the natives; while John Bull contented himself with a kind of indolent assent to both. At last the Government of Ceylon showed symptoms of energy, and, unfortunately for Christianity, began to act. What they did, and (for ought that appears to the contrary) what they are still doing, appears all but incredible, and is, we feel confident, unknown and unsuspected by the people of England. There could not, however, be a more satisfactory witness than Sir Emerson, and we shall give his testimony in his own words:—

The proponents appointed by Mr. North and Sir Thomas Maitland proceeded to exercise their functions with a zeal, almost untempered by discretion. The administration of baptism was the most prominent, as it appears to have been the most laborious, portion of their duties; and the Singalese, accustomed for upwards of a century, under the Portuguese and Dutch, to regard baptism as the test and qualification for the enjoyment of numerous civil advantages, still retained the idea that the inheritance of property by their children, as well as other personal privileges, would be contingent on the insertion of their names in the *thombo*, or baptismal register of the district. On the periodical visits of the proponent, the *tom-toms* were



sounded throughout the villages; the children were brought in crowds to be baptized; and the ceremony was performed, in many instances, by arranging them in rows—the proponent, as he passed along, sprinkling their faces with water, and repeating the formula of the rite. The Singhalese term for this operation was *Christiani-karenawa*, or “Christian making;” but it was far from being regarded as anything solemn or religious. It had been declared *honourable* by the Portuguese to undergo such a ceremony; it had been rendered *profitable* by the Dutch; and, after three hundred years’ familiarity with the process, the natives were unable to divest themselves of the belief, that submission to the ceremony was enjoined by orders from the Civil Government. Of baptism itself they had no other conception than some civil distinction which it was supposed to confer; and, to the present day, the Singhalese term for the ceremony bears the literal interpretation of “*admission to rank*.”\* If two Buddhists quarrel, it is no unusual term of reproach to apply the epithet of an “*unbaptized wretch*;”† and when a parent upbraids his child in anger, he sometimes threatens to disinherit him, by saying he will “blot out his baptism from the thombo.”

Even to the present day, a native child cannot be legally registered without previous baptism by a Christian minister; and the practice of the Missionaries (with the exception of the Baptists) serves to perpetuate the evil, as they refuse to solemnize the marriages of individuals unbaptized.‡

Prodigious numbers of nominal Christians, who have been thus enrolled, designate themselves “Christian Buddhists,” or “Government Christians;” and, with scarcely an exception, they are either heathens or sceptics.§ There are large districts in which it would be difficult to discover an unbaptized Singhalese; and yet, in the midst of these, the religion of Buddha flourishes, and priests and temples abound. The majority ostensibly profess Christianity, but support all the ceremonies of their own national idolatry; and, more or less openly, frequent the temples, and make votive offerings to the idol. The rest are alternately Christians, or infidels, as occasion may render it expedient to appear; and in point of character and conduct they are notoriously the most abandoned and reckless class of the community. But, in speaking of these classes under the designation of Christians, a wide line of distinction is to be drawn between them and the Missionary converts, whose adhesion to Christianity, however imperfect may be their inward convictions, is at least an act of premeditation, and ensures a certain degree of circumspection in demeanour; whilst no similar obligation is felt to be incumbent upon those, whose nominal addition to Christianity is merely the result of an accident.

It will readily be imagined that the existence of such a body, at once so numerous and so regardless, must be highly prejudicial to the extension of genuine Christianity; and every individual, who has had personal experience of its effects, has borne his testimony to the fact, that nothing has so effectually deterred the Singhalese in their first approaches to the truth, as the apprehension of being identified by their conversion with a class, whose reputation and whose practice are alike an outrage on the religion, in which they were born, and an insult to that, which they profess to have adopted.—*Pp 87-90.*

If Missionaries have any hankering, as some assert, after Government patronage and interference, we should think that the history of the propagation of Christianity in Ceylon would

\* Kula-wadenawa.

† To-gintu-gua.

‡ “The dexterity of the natives in overcoming difficulties in this respect is amusing. A man in Malwana, being alarmed during an attack of sickness that he should die before his son and heir could be baptized, sent for his brother, who, instead of carrying the child all the way to Colombo, *borrowed an infant in the town*, and had it baptized and registered by a Wesleyan minister, in the name of the absent child, who was at home. In this way, the same infant has been frequently baptized many times.”—*MS. Notes by the Rev. J. Davies, Baptist Missionary, Ceylon.*

§ “When we ask the people their religion, the common reply is, We are of the Government religion.”—*Ibid.*

effectually cure them. Indeed we look upon Sir J. E. Tennent's work as the best and most complete answer to Gibbon, that has yet appeared. No; the work of the Missionary needs no Government patronage; and the only petition they should offer to it, is that of the French merchants to Colbert;—"Let us alone!"

We now come to the era of modern Missions, which may be said to have commenced about the year 1814. The Baptists were the first in the field; but the Americans, the Wesleyans, and the Episcopalians speedily followed them; and, we believe, that, in ability, success, and acquaintance with the native languages, literature, habits, and superstitions, the missionaries in Ceylon may well bear a comparison with any in the world. Mission work with them has, on the whole, chiefly an educational aspect. But it is not our purpose to enter into details of their labours, or to attempt to discuss the great question of the best mode of conducting a mission in our times, at the sag end of an article. For those missionaries, who are not content to follow in the beaten track, or to invent over again what has been tried and found wanting by their predecessors, but who rise to the height of their position, and devote all their powers to the grand and glorious work of winning the nations to Christ, we would recommend Sir Emerson Tennent's book as an invaluable help.

He unites the practical knowledge of the missionary with the philanthropic spirit, the large views, and philosophical habits, of the Christian, the statesman, and the scholar. He discusses, with a thorough mastery of the subject, the principles on which the various Missions are conducted, the experiences of the missionaries themselves, the obstacles in their way, and the means they have used to counteract them, translations, the press, teaching, preaching—in short, nearly all the grand and pregnant questions, which yet await and demand solution: and he discusses them all, in a manner, not only worthy of his acknowledged ability, but with a candour, freshness, and impartiality, which, it is but fair to say, we have never met with elsewhere. The plan of his work appears more than necessarily unconnected and faulty;\* there are not a few of his conclusions also, concerning which we hope to break a lance with him on no distant day: but there is something, to us, as rare as it is

\* In a second edition, we hope, Sir Emerson will devise some means for avoiding the unnecessary repetition, of which there is very much in the work, and the bewildering effect on the reader, who attempts to follow out the history of any one sect or Mission, and finds it scattered all over the book. It is difficult to suggest a better; but the present arrangement is obviously vicious and faulty.

delightful, in meeting with a powerful vigorous mind, raised far above the vulgar atmosphere of straining after notoriety, or of doubt, that is fonder of display than research or satisfaction, and turning, with a calm but a kindred spirit, to contemplate and record the labours of those, that seek to carry forward the grandest work that man can engage in, the true panacea for human misery, and the last hope of the world.

The historical sketch, which we have attempted, of the progress of Christianity in Ceylon, would be incomplete, were we to say nothing of the result of the last thirty or forty years. It does not bulk very large; but when we consider the inert and apathetic mass on which they had to work, the deep-seated prejudices and passions engendered by three centuries of misdeeds and mismanagement which they had to overcome, the rough and rudimentary work that was to be done, the shortness of the time, and the small number of the labourers, we must confess that the missionaries of Ceylon are workmen that need not be ashamed. We borrow an account of what they have done from the impartial pages of Sir Emerson—and there is no part of his work that we have read with greater pleasure:—

The results of these efforts to diffuse Christianity throughout Ceylon are less unsatisfactory, than they may outwardly seem to a casual observer, who regards only their ostensible effect; for, however limited may be the first definite gains in the numerical amount of acknowledged converts, the process has commenced, by which these will be hereafter augmented; and living principles have been successfully implanted, as much more precious than the mere visible results, as the tree exceeds in value the first fruits of its earliest growth.

Nor have these fruits themselves been inconsiderable, when we bear in mind the antiquity and strength of the superstitions, which have pre-occupied the soil, the failures of the first efforts of Christianity to supplant them, the peculiar characteristics of the Singhalese people, and the limited means, as well as the circumscribed resources, of the various Christian Missions, which have been engaged in the work.

Not the least important gain has been the access of *experience*, which they themselves have acquired, sufficient not merely to protect them from the delusions by which their predecessors were misled, but to guide them, by their more intimate appreciation of the difficulties to be overcome and of the choice of those instruments, and the better adjustment of the process, by which success is to be compassed.

Above all, the influence of ancient delusions has been undermined, the foundation of national errors has been shattered, and all experience has demonstrated the fact, that, although exploded opinions may be often revived, exploded superstitions never acquire a second vitality. They become shaded by the ignominy of detected imposture; and, though idolatry is too often replaced by infidelity, heathenism itself, once exposed and discredited, can never regain its ascendancy.

The aggregate number of converts in Ceylon is no criterion as to the progress of Christianity; not only because these are not its sole indications, but because the tests on admission, and the discipline afterwards, differ, not only in different churches, but even amongst the different establishments of the same Christian Mission. In addition to which the Missionaries themselves are fully aware of the fact, that amongst their nominal adherents there are numbers, whose life and inward feelings are at variance with their seeming profession, and who, though they may not fall

under the designation of impostors, are far from being entitled to the denomination of Christians.

But with reference to these, there must be borne in mind the influence of the society from which they have been rescued, and the moral stagnation and impurities of the atmosphere, which they have been accustomed to breathe. Christian life and its characteristics are of infinitely slower growth than belief and Christian profession. Evil habits, alike national and hereditary, and superstitions irreconcilable with the simplicity of truth, may subsist long after the manifestation of deep and genuine conversion. The traces are not yet eradicated in England of the Paganism, which preceded Christianity; and even the pure and exalted mind of Sir Matthew Hale was not proof against the delusion of witchcraft. We have therefore no grounds for alarm, if, in conjunction with the newly-received doctrines of Christianity, the Singhalese converts should exhibit in some instances their long-associated respect for the ancient customs of Buddhism, or still shrink at the remembrance of the terrors of demon-worship.

Political changes are usually rapid, and often the offspring of a single cause; but all moral revolutions are of gradual development, and the result of innumerable agencies. Progressive growth is the law and process of Nature in all her grand operations. Philosophy, science, and art, all the moral and intellectual developments of man, are progressive; and, under the influence of Christianity itself, the march of civilization, though controlled and directed by its ascendancy, is regulated by those eternal laws of social progress, which have been ordained by Omnipotence.

The pace may be slow and unequal, but the tendency is onward, and the result may be eventually rapidly developed; and such, it is my firm conviction, will be the effect of what is now in progress, not in Ceylon alone, but throughout the continent of India. A large proportion of the labour hitherto has been prospective: but its effects are already in incipient operation; and, on all ordinary principles, a power once in motion is calculated to gather velocity and momentum by its own career.

When the time shall have arrived for the mighty masses of India to move with a more simultaneous impulse, it is impossible to calculate the effect; but, looking to the magnitude of the operations which have been so long in process, and the vastness of the agencies which have been organized, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the last conquests of Christianity may be achieved with incomparably greater rapidity, than has marked its earlier progress and signalized its first success; and that, in the instance of India, "the ploughman may overtake the reaper, the treader of grapes him that soweth the seed," and the type of the prophet be realized, "that a nation shall be born in a day."

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What has been done, and what is still in progress in Ceylon, are in themselves demonstrative evidences that the idolatry of India is *not impregnable*, and that so far from the Mission of Christianity being exhausted, at no period of our history have its manifestations been so apparent, or the measures taken so successful for ensuring its ultimate triumph.

The human means by which that consummation is to be hastened have already been indicated in the course of the foregoing narrative; *the Scriptural education of the young, the intellectual culture of the adults, and the instrumentality of preaching, and the printing press with all.* The mere elementary teaching of the many, unaccompanied by the profounder instruction of the few, will never succeed in elevating the spiritual character of the people;—the one may assist in weakening the influence of their ancient superstition, but without the aid of the other, the task would prove all but hopeless to elevate Christianity in its stead. For the realization of such a system, the assistance of *native agents* is indispensable; and, for the training of these, education must be carried to the point at which the pupil becomes transformed into the teacher. The pastors, whom the Apostles inducted to watch over the Churches which they planted amongst the heathen, were natives of the country: thus Christianity ceased to be exotic, became an institution of the land; and was cherished and supported as such. None but familiar associates can exhibit to the natives of India in practice the example of that Christian life, which the European

instructor can only delineate in theory ; and none but he can so effectually accommodate his ministrations to the habits of his hearers as to gain upon their confidence, and exert an influence over their opinions and habits of thought.—*Pp.* 324-328, and 332-333.

While Christianity was propagated in former days by men of "bloody hands and hearts unclean," by force and falsehood, by policy and cunning, by all the vast but mis-directed influence of Government, and all the alluring pomp and show of superstition, it was choked and smothered by the rank growth of these foul and noisome weeds; and the loving face of the Saviour and the pure star-like light of his doctrines were never suffered to beam upon the benighted people of Ceylon. There is still enough, and more than enough, both from without and from within, to dim its lustre, and retard its progress; but at last the eye of reason, as well as the eye of faith, can look hopefully forward, and already see in the far horizon sure tokens of the coming sun.

We have reviewed Sir Emerson's work under one aspect chiefly; but it would be unjust to conclude without adverting to its claims on the general reader.

The book does not treat exclusively of Missions. It has a slight but popular and interesting sketch of Brahmanism, and a more elaborate and masterly account of Buddhism than any we have seen elsewhere within the same compass. It gives accurate and life-like portraiture of Singalese life and habits; and abounds with notices and illustrations of the antiquities and literature of the island. When we add that it is profusely and tastefully illustrated, and has withal a somewhat lordly air of luxury and elegance, we think that our readers will agree with us in our verdict, that it is a very delightful work—a worthy and fitting employment for the leisure hours of an accomplished Christian gentleman.

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ART. VIII.—*History of the War in Afghanistan; by John William Kaye. 2 vols. 8vo. Bentley. London. 1851.*

THERE are very obvious reasons why we should express no opinion regarding the merits or demerits of this work. But we may give some account of its contents. The value of the book is dependent, less upon the manner of its execution, than on the nature of the materials at the author's command. If these materials are abundant and interesting, scarcely any amount of inefficiency on the part of the author can render the work wholly unacceptable to the Anglo-Indian public, and to such readers, in other parts of the world, as are personally or politically interested in the circumstances of the war.

It may be said, perhaps, that the time for writing, fully and unreservedly, a history of the war in Afghanistan has not yet arrived. We are not insensible of the disadvantages under which the historian labours, who is too near to the scenes that he describes; but we cannot help thinking that there are counterbalancing advantages, which weigh down the scale on the side of cotemporary history. Posterity may bring a calmer judgment to bear upon the calamitous and humiliating events of the war in Afghanistan: and the historian, after the lapse of half a century, might write with more judicial impartiality and unreserve of the chief actors engaged in the stirring scenes that he describes; there may be less fear of his prejudices and predilections, his sympathies and antipathies tainting the pure stream of history: he may be held less in restraint by the kindlier feelings of his heart and speak out the truth in a more fearless tone; but, when we have said this, we have, perhaps, said all that is to be advanced in favour of delay. On the other hand, it is to be considered, that as time advances, the materials of history diminish; that if it be advantageous, in one respect, that the chief actors in the scenes to be described should have ceased to be amongst us, before their actions are narrated, the historian derives immense benefit from his ability to consult, at every stage of his work, some of the surviving actors in the events which he is passing in review before him: to acquire information regarding the minutest point of history; to verify every fact, however seemingly trifling, upon the authority of those most likely to furnish evidence not to be cavilled at, or gainsayed. Not only does this kind of oral testimony, which is so valuable to the historian, disappear altogether under the destroying influence of time, but written materials, somehow or other, manage to disappear too. What

immense masses of materials for a history of India have gone out of existence altogether. Some people have a taste for destroying papers. If they do not destroy them themselves, or order them to be destroyed after their death, their heirs or executors do the work of destruction. Or heaps of papers, that the historian or biographer would gloat over, are shovelled into old boxes, and stowed away in dark lumber rooms, to be destroyed by damp and white-ants, if in this country, or, if in England, by damp and mice. How frequently is the answer given to the enquiries of the historian or the biographer—"Oh! I had such-and-such papers once; but I do not know what has become of them";—or "I kept them for a long time, and then I thought it best to destroy them";—or "I did not think they were of any value";—or "I lent them to so-and-so, who never returned them, and I do not know where he is to be found." Many valuable documents, letters, and journals perish in this way. Every year diminishes, in some manner or other, the materials of history, and makes it more difficult for the historian to ensure the fullness and accuracy of detail, which give life to the written page. Our histories of India have been written too much from the mere barren residue of the materials once in existence. They present only the outer official side of public events; for they have been written mainly from state-papers, and have the stamp of the bureau upon them. Our historians have, for the most part, seen only the warriors and statesmen, of whom they write, in full dress. The genuine thoughts and opinions of these worthies are hidden beneath the verbiage of official paragraphs. They appear only before the public in the stately sentences of fluent secretaries, through which scarce a glimpse of the real man is to be caught. What a barren affair, for example, would be a history of the war in Afghanistan, written in 1951, from the then existing state-papers!

Taking, therefore, all these things into consideration, it appears to us, that, if the time for writing the history of the war in Afghanistan has not yet come, it has at all events not passed away; and that, if ever the precise time for writing such a history shall arrive—not too near to, and not too remote from, the scenes to be described—and the right historian should be found to take advantage of the right time, the present author will deserve some thanks for having contributed some valuable materials towards the history which he lived half-a-century too soon to write. Indeed, we believe that he himself was better inclined to call his work "Materials for a history of the war in Afghanistan," than to dignify it with the title of

a history. He has relied, indeed, mainly on his materials; and has laid them profusely before the public in all their original authenticity. It is certain, therefore, that if he has done nothing else, he has mightily assisted the labours of the future historian.

He has put into clear and legible type much that would in all probability have been accessible to no other writer, and has perhaps rescued from the fate, which too often waits on the private materials of history, much which is necessary to the right understanding of the secret history of the war. His materials are mainly original materials—some of a public, some of a private, character. They have been obtained from a great variety of sources; and appear to us to have been singularly profuse. The author speaks with gratitude, in his preface, of the readiness with which every application he made for assistance was responded to by the parties to whom he applied, and the unreserve with which public and private papers were placed at his disposal. Friends and strangers were equally ready to aid him. The materials, which circumstances first brought into his possession, and which induced him to turn his thoughts towards the compilation of a history of the war, were soon swelled by these practical responses or by voluntary offers of aid; and the author found himself surrounded by piles of papers, the greater number of which were of so much interest, that it perplexed him to select those which had the greatest claims to publication, and grieved him to reject much, that would have increased the interest, whilst too greatly extending the dimensions of his book. If, therefore, he has failed to produce a work, that will interest all who are interested in the history of the war in Afghanistan, the fault is simply his own.

The work opens with an introduction of 160 pages, comprising a rapid sketch of Afghan history, and of all the circumstances attending European connexion with the countries lying between India and Russia, since the commencement of the present century. The different British Missions to Persia, Afghanistan, and Sindh, the intrigues of France and Russia in the east, the wars between Persia and the latter state, and the aggressions of Persia on the side of Khorassan and Afghanistan, are succinctly narrated. In the preparation of this introductory portion of his narrative, the author seems to have had access to a very large body of original historical materials belonging to the administration of Lord Wellesley, Sir George Barlow, and Lord Minto, including the unpublished correspondence of Sir John Malcolm. It may be thought, perhaps, that led away by the interest and extent of these



materials, he has, in some places, entered somewhat too minutely into the history of events, only remotely connected with the origin of the war in Afghanistan. But, when it is considered that he has devoted only 160 pages of a work, extending over more than 1,000, to the incidents of the first 36 or 37 years of the present century, and that, without a right understanding of these incidents, it is not possible for the reader fully to comprehend the motives, which compelled our statesmen to push an army across the Indus, in counter-action of Persian aggression and Russian intrigue, it will hardly appear that these preliminary events have been dwelt upon with too much minuteness.

Having brought, in these preliminary chapters, the history of events in Central Asia down to the commencement of the march of Muhammad Shah's grand army upon Herat, the author commences his second book with a notice of the arrival of Lord Auckland, and a sketch of that statesman's character. He then speaks of the commencement of the Russo-phobia, and, after a rapid notice of previous travellers in Afghanistan, introduces the reader to Alexander Burnes. In the chapter on the "Commercial Mission to Kábul," he has made free use of the privately printed papers of that lamented officer, and seems to have had access to many other letters and papers in the possession of Burnes's family, which have not, we believe, been printed in any shape. The next chapter is devoted to the siege of Herat, of which a lengthy and elaborate account is given. The author has been fortunate enough to obtain possession of Eldred Pottinger's papers, including a long and very minute journal of all the incidents of that memorable siege. After this, the reader is brought back to Simlah, shewn how the war was concocted, and then set fairly on the march with the army of the Indus. All this part of the history is illustrated with a great number of original letters from Macnaghten, Burnes, and others. The correspondence of Macnaghten, especially, is largely quoted, not only with reference to the march to Kandahar and Kábul, but to the subsequent events of the years 1840 and 1841. An immense mass of the Envoy's correspondence with different official and private friends seems to have been placed at the author's disposal—in most cases the autograph letters themselves. These let us with much clearness into the inner history of Macnaghten's policy in Afghanistan, whilst the curtain is withdrawn from and before the Calcutta Council-chamber; and we are shown in what manner the progress of events beyond the Indus, and the results of our unhappy connexion with Shah Sújah, were

regarded by the Governor-General and his associates. Among other materials, which the author has commanded, is the journal of Sir Jasper Nicolls, the extracts from which, whilst very curious and interesting in themselves, demonstrate the correctness of the Commander-in-Chief's views, both of our military and political position in the countries beyond the Indus.

The causes of the outbreak in the early winter of 1841 are enquired into with much minuteness; and the enquiry is illustrated with extracts from the unpublished reports of Pottinger, Macgregor, and others. Then comes an account of the insurrection at Kábul, and of all the humiliating circumstances attending our calamitous defeat. The correspondence between Macnaghten and Elphinstone, throughout the seven bitter weeks preceding the Envoy's death, is here given in its original integrity. The Envoy's letters to Mohun Lal are freely quoted. The unfinished report of the former, found in his writing-desk after the death, is quoted in the text, and given entire in the appendix: whilst the unpublished statements of Brigadier Shelton, Mohun Lal and others, and a very interesting manuscript journal kept by Capt. Johnson, the Shah's paymaster and commissariat officer, are copiously used for purposes of illustration and annotation. For the events succeeding the Envoy's death up to the time of the departure of the forces, the author has relied mainly on Pottinger's unpublished report, with its numerous appendices, including the rough drafts of the treaties whilst in progress (with the remarks of Akbar Khan interpolated), and the ratified treaty itself, bearing the seals of the Afghan Chiefs. The narrative of the retreat and captivity is illustrated with a considerable mass of original materials, including the letters and statements of Major Pottinger, the prison journal of Capt. Johnson, &c.: whilst the events at Kábul, subsequent to the departure of English troops, are set forth in the letters of Shah Sújah, Futteh Jung, Mohun Lal, and John Conolly. We think that both the value and interest of the work are greatly increased, by the insertion of numerous translations of Persian letters and documents from the leading actors on the Afghan side. The letters of Shah Sújah, written after the departure of the British from Kábul, are very curious and characteristic.

Nor less fortunate has the author been in obtaining authentic and interesting materials for a narrative of events on the side of Kandahar. From a mass of demi-official correspondence between Major Rawlinson, Major Outram, and Lieut. Hammersley, copious extracts are made. To the journals of Major Rawlinson, during the defence of Kandahar and the subsequent movement upon Kábul, the author seems to have had access, as

well as to letters written by General Nott (some of them very characteristic) throughout this period.

For an account of the operations of Pollock's retributive force, and the negotiations for the release of the prisoners, the author has possessed most abundant materials. The correspondence between Sale and Pollock, previous to the advance of the latter upon Jellalabad—written partly in English, and partly in French—is curious and interesting. To the correspondence, after the arrival of Pollock and Nott at Kábul, between the two chiefs relative to the release of the prisoners, we alluded in a former number of this journal. Nott's letter, of which we then gave the substance, is here given at length; as well as some very characteristic annotations on a letter from Khan Sherin Khan, the chief of the Kuzzilbashs, and Gholam Muhammad Khan, the Wuzir, *pro. tem.*—complaining of some alleged excesses committed by Nott's division. The letters both of Pollock and Nott, in reply to the queries of Government concerning the reputed excesses of the troops, are also given. Nott's had been previously published in the newspapers, to the great annoyance of the Court of Directors, who were anything but pleased with its vehement and intemperate tone.

But it is time now, that, having run over, in a cursory manner, our author's table of contents, we should give some specimens of the work. And this we intend to do without much regard for chronological arrangement—giving first some extracts from the illustrative documents, and then from the historian's text. We have selected for the most part those papers and passages, which have an integrity of their own, and require little explanation. With a tolerably extensive gallery of historical personages, from whose writings to make our extracts, we are in some doubt as to the one, towards whom we should first point the finger of citation. But it appears to us on consideration, that we are bound to give the place of honour to the Governor-General; so we now call Lord Ellenborough into court. Captain Grover, in his work on the *Bokhara Victims*, made no little stir about the Governor-General's letter to the Amir of Bokhara, which he said occasioned the death of the "innocent travellers;" but the Captain did not obtain a copy of it, and we believe that it has never seen the light. It is a very characteristic production:—

FROM LORD ELLENBOROUGH, GOVERNOR-GENERAL, TO THE KHAN OF  
BOKHARA.

Simla, 1st October, 1842.

A. C.

The Queen of England, my royal mistress, has sanctioned my coming to India, to conduct its government, and direct its armies.

On my arrival I found that a great disaster had befallen those armies, and much injury had been inflicted on my countrymen and the people of India by the treacherous Afghans, under Mahomed Akbar Khan.

In forty days from the time when I directed the British armies, reinforced from India, to move forward, three great victories have been gained over the Afghans; the city and citadel of Ghuzni have been destroyed; and now the Balla Hissar of Caubul is in my power.

Thus, by God's aid, have I afflicted with merited punishment the murderers of their own king and of a British minister. In this I have avenged the cause of all sovereigns and of all nations.

The wife and family of Mahomed Akbar Khan are prisoners, and my soldiers are now conducting them to the sea.

Thus are the wicked punished, even in their wives and families.

I hear that you, too, have gained great successes, at which I rejoice, if you had just ground of complaint against your enemy.

It is in the midst of successes, that clemency most becomes the conqueror, and gives to him an extent of permanent fame, which often does not attend on victory.

I was informed, when I reached India, that you detained in confinement two Englishmen, supposing them to have entertained designs against you. This must have been your reason, for no prince detains an innocent traveller.

I am informed that they are innocent travellers. As individuals, they could not entertain designs against you; and I know they were not employed by their Government in such designs, for their Government is friendly to you.

Send them away towards Persia. It will redound to your honour. They shall never return to give you offence, but be sent back to their own country.

Do this, as you wish to have my friendship.

ELLENBOROUGH.

We may here mention that these volumes contain a very interesting episodical chapter, relative to the imprisonment of Stoddart and Conolly—the author having obtained possession of Conolly's original letters and journals, written from his miserable dungeon in Bokhara.

From the Governor-General, we proceed as in duty bound to the Commander-in-chief. The following minute written by Sir Jasper Nicolls, a few months before the Kábul outbreak, is very creditable to his sagacity:—

MINUTE, 19TH AUGUST, 1841.

When the opinions of the members of Government were last given on the affairs of Afghanistan, I did not offer mine, because there was very little time for doing so, before the despatch of the Mail—and further, because I had partly recorded my sentiments on the 10th of November, 1840, when advising an increase of the army, to meet the demand our new conquest called for. The surrender of Dost Mahomed, a few days before, was given as a proof that no such increase was required; and the serious increase of expense was another ground for setting aside the recommendation. I was well disposed to yield assent to both; but I observe, by the activity with which our reinforcements have since been sent, that there is a conviction at home that our European troops should be kept on a high establishment. I

cordially join in the Governor-General's opinion now recorded, that we should not advance upon Herat, if it can possibly be avoided. We experience anxiety and difficulty in keeping Shah Sujah upon his throne, without extending his kingdom at the risk of our own power and security. The military base, on which our positions in Afghanistan are now supported, is very objectionable, on account of distance, difficulty of communication, foreign interposition. The seasons control and cramp every movement; and the proceedings and policy of the Sikhs cannot be anticipated. To advance beyond the Holmund would greatly increase our difficulties. A corps at Herat could not be easily reinforced; and, as a bridle upon Persia, Russia, and the Turkomans, it should contain, at least, the power of protracted self-defence. We should be called upon, probably at no distant time, to take the field in its support. To do this safely, we should be strong on our whole line from Caubul to Kelat; for Afghan intrigue would undoubtedly be actively employed to disturb the district from which the troops were drawn. Yar Mahomed is certainly a very insidious enemy, but, if ejected from Herat, he would not be less so. The Douranis and Ghilzies are stimulated by him no doubt, and perhaps other tribes may be so; they do not, however, receive either money or aid from him, and they will tire of advice, which only leads to their discomfiture.

Although Dost Mahomed is now residing amongst us, I do not perceive that the Shah's government is much more at ease, than it was at this time last year; though our military force beyond the Indus has been much increased. The hope of leaving the Shah's dominions to his own force and government seems more distant than it then was.

My former proposal was met by an assertion (a very just one), that the heavy drain upon the finances would not admit an increase of establishment. I was not then aware of the full extent of that drain!—it is now rated so high, as to create a deficit of a million and a quarter annually, and I think we should not venture to send a second army beyond the Indus, to destroy the resources of India; for such a consequence may be apprehended from such a heavy annual exportation of the necessary funds. Again, when our jealous and intriguing neighbours observe our forces spreading to the east and west so far beyond our former limits, and learn that our finances are decreasing annually, will they not be tempted to encourage each other to regain what we have wrested from them, and to excite the turbulent spirits within our provinces to rebellion?

I offer these opinions with hesitation and regret:—but I lost the opportunity of stating them some months since, and am fearful that similar silence at this time might be misconstrued.

J. NICOLLS.

In a letter to the Governor-General, Sir Jasper Nicolls thus sums up the causes of our disasters in Afghanistan:—

CONCLUSION OF LETTER DATED SIMLA, 24TH MARCH, 1842.

The causes to which I ascribe our failure in Afghanistan are these:

- 1st. Making war with a peace establishment.
- 2nd. Making war without a safe base of operations.
- 3rd. Carrying our native army out of India into a strange and cold climate, where they and we were foreigners, and both considered as infidels.
- 4th. Invading a poor country, and one unequal to supply our wants, especially our large establishment of cattle.
- 5th. Giving undue power to political agents.
- 6th. Want of forethought and undue confidence in the Afghans on the part of Sir William Macnaghten.

7th. Placing our magazines, even our treasure—in indefensible places.

8th. Great military neglect and mismanagement after the outbreak.

I have the honour, &c.,

J. NICOLLS.

THE LORD ELLENBOROUGH, *Governor-General*.

We must give one more extract from Sir Jasper Nicolls' correspondence. The following letter will, we think, be read with considerable interest by our military readers. It is a letter of explanation, almost of apology, for the appointment of General Pollock to the command of the army in Afghanistan. It will doubtless be surmised, that this appointment gave some offence at the Horse-guards; else the Commander-in-chief would hardly have taken so much trouble to explain why a Queen's officer was not sent in command:—

TO LIEUT-GENERAL LORD FITZROY SOMERSET, K. C. B.

*Simlah, 2nd September, 1842.*

MY LORD,—I have the honour to acknowledge your Lordship's letter of the 13th of June, calling upon me for explanation, on the subject of an appeal, made to the General Commanding-in-Chief, by Major-General Sir Joseph Thackwell, in consequence of his not being permitted to accompany the regiment, of which he is senior Colonel, on service beyond the Indus.—I beg you will apprise his Lordship, that, in addition to the rule quoted by Sir J. Thackwell, the special appointment of Major-General Pollock prohibited his employment in Afghanistan.

I shall explain the circumstances of that appointment.

In December, 1841, the Governor-General of India in Council instructed me to place Major-General Lumley, of the Company's army, in command of the reinforcements, which passed through the Punjab in January last; and, in addition to the command of the whole force in Afghanistan, it was his Lordship's intention to place in his hands the political control also.

Major-General Lumley's health was such as to preclude all hope, or even desire, that he should undertake so great a charge; and it became necessary that I should propose another officer for this important duty. Twice I laid before the Governor-General the name of Major-General Sir Edmund Williams; and, as a Light Infantry officer, he seemed most qualified to meet an enemy in a mountainous country: he was active, zealous, and in perfect health. In the command of a division he had shown a clear judgment, and given me satisfaction.

I need not inform Lord Hill that the management of the native army, or of small portions of it, is a matter, at times, of delicacy and difficulty. It will not do to distrust or disparage it, as Colonel Monson did. The Governor-General gave such an unwilling and discouraging reply to my second communication, that I clearly saw the whole onus of the appointment and of its consequences would be mine. This I would not undertake: and, Major-General Pollock being near at hand, and honoured by Lord Auckland's confidence (as I know), I ordered him by dawn to join the 9th Foot and other corps. This done, Government was pleased to confer upon him the political powers intended for Major-General Lumley; without which Sir Edward Williams would have had to act, not from himself, but according to requisitions made by the local political authorities—viz, Brevet

Captains Mackeson and M'Gregor. Upon the more abstract question of the Lieutenant-Colonelcy, it must be remarked that Sir Edward Williams held that rank in the 9th Foot, which gave him no claim to go to Afghanistan, though some officious friend has since asserted it.

I had soon occasion to rejoice that Sir Edward was not appointed to the command on my sole responsibility;—the four sepoy corps, first sent under Brigadier Wild, having been most sadly mismanaged (*at the instance of the political authorities, against my instructions and earnest caution*). When Major-General Pollock arrived at Peshawur, he found 1800 men of the four regiments in hospital; the sepoys declaring that they would not advance again through the Khybar Pass; the Sikh troops spreading alarm, and in all ways encouraging and screening their desertion, which was considerable. It was well that a cautious, cool officer of the Company's army should have to deal with them in such a temper, 363 miles from our frontier. General Pollock managed them exceedingly well; but he did not venture to enter the Pass till April (two months and a half after Brigadier Wild's failure), when reinforced by the 3rd Dragoons, a regiment of cavalry, a troop of horse artillery, and other details. Lord Hill will at once perceive that the morale must have been low, when *horse artillery and cavalry* were required to induce the General to advance, with confidence, through this formidable Pass. Any precipitancy on the part of a general officer, panting for fame, might have had the worst effect. I must now return to Sir J. Thackwell's appeal. The General Order, quoted very ingenuously by the Major-General, contains a full and complete reply to his complaint. He was senior to Major-General Pollock; and his proceeding with the 3rd Dragoons would have interfered with a divisional command. He certainly did offer to serve under that officer; but I could not recommend the Government to suffer him to do so, all such arrangements being in my opinion most faulty in principle, and (depending chiefly on good temper) dangerous. I have since called up Sir Joseph Thackwell to my headquarters in order to command the cavalry, had it been necessary (as seemed possible) last winter to collect an army. The Major-General is in error when he states that I intended him to command an army of observation on the Sutlej: that post I retained for myself, aided by Lieutenant-General Sir Robert Arbuthnot. In November next, it is proposed to collect an army of reserve in this vicinity, and Sir J. Thackwell will have the command of the cavalry. I cannot have the smallest objection to the Major-General's bringing himself to Lord Hill's notice, as he has done, except the infraction of a rule in doing so direct. But, if he had remembered that he commanded the cavalry of Lord Keane's army—had been twice named by me for similar duty—has long been a Brigadier commanding a division or station—he would have found little cause to complain of ill fortune, or neglect. I have known many of her Majesty's officers, Colonels and old Lieutenant-Colonels, to reside ten to fifteen years in India, without having had any such opportunities of service and distinction, and further to command divisions without receiving the smallest remuneration.

I have the honour, &c.

J. NICOLLS.

P. S.—I am happy to say that the Governor-General has displaced all the minor political agents in Afghanistan but one, and entrusted the power to the Generals, Pollock and Nott.

J. N.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL LORD FITZROY SOMERSET, K. O. B.,

We believe that, on the whole, Sir Jasper Nicolls was as free from prejudice as any officer that ever commanded in India, and was anxious to do justice in the Company's army. He was not responsible for Elphinstone's fatal appointment to Kábul (which was Lord Auckland's doing); but, if he had his own way in the matter, he would have appointed General Nott to the command.

The correspondence of Sir William Macnaghten is so freely quoted in these volumes, that we scarcely know how to make our selections from it; but as we have, several times, seen allusions in the public prints to the Envoy's official report of the transactions at Kábul in the winter of 1841-42, which was found after his death, in an unfinished state, in his writing-desk, we are tempted to quote it, in spite of its length.

But we must suggest the probability of its disappointing many of our readers. It throws little new light on these melancholy events—and is not, in our estimation, a very interesting or important document:—

FROM SIR WM. MACNAGHTEN, BART., ENVOY AND MINISTER, TO T. H. MADDOCK, ESQ., SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

*Secret Department, Fort William.*

SIR,—1. It is with feelings of the deepest concern that I acquaint you, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council, of my having been compelled to consent to the abandonment of our position in this country.

2. The Major-General commanding in Afghanistan will doubtless detail the military disasters which have led to this direful necessity; and I shall have occasion, therefore, to touch upon them but briefly in the course of this narrative.

3. On the morning of the 2nd ult., I was informed that the town of Caubul was in a state of commotion, and, shortly afterwards, I received a note from Lieutenant-Colonel Sir A. Burnes, to the effect that his house was besieged, and begging for assistance. I immediately went to General Elphinstone, and suggested that Brigadier Shelton's force should proceed to the Balla Hissar, thence to operate as might seem expedient; that the remaining troops should be concentrated; the cantonment placed in a state of defence; and assistance, if possible, sent to Sir A. Burnes.

4. Before Brigadier Shelton could reach the Balla Hissar, the town had attained such a state of ferment, that it was deemed impracticable to penetrate to Sir A. Burnes's residence, which was in the centre of the city. I also sent messages of assurance to His Majesty by my assistant (Captain Lawrence); but so great had become the excitement, that, by noon, the road between the cantonment and the city was hardly

5. His Majesty, on first hearing of the insurrection, had sent out his son, Futteh Sing, and the Minister, with some of the household troops, to repress it; but this party was speedily repulsed with great slaughter; and, in the mean time, I grieve to state, that Sir Alexander Burnes, his



brother, Lieutenant C. Burnes, and Captain W. Broadfoot, had fallen victims to the fury of the mob.

6. From that time, affairs grew generally worse. The enemy showed great judgment in their work of annoying us. They seized the strongest position between the cantonment and the city, and, what was worse than all, they seized the fort, which contained all our stores and provisions. This step was well-nigh effecting our immediate destruction; and it is chiefly to this, that I attribute our final discomfiture. We had only four or five days' supplies for the cantonment. The Balla Hissar, as well as the cantonment, was in a state of siege. We could not hope for provisions from thence, nor would the place have afforded us either food or shelter, and, in the opinion of the military authorities, to return thither would have been attended with ruin. A disastrous retreat seemed the only alternative: but this necessity was averted by the attack, on the 10th ult., of a neighbouring fort, which had intermediately furnished us with a scanty supply of provisions, but which subsequently espoused the cause of the rebels. The place was carried after a desperate resistance. We lost in the operation no less than sixty men killed and wounded of Her Majesty's 44th regiment alone; but our immediate wants were supplied by the provisions found in the fort. I lament to add, that Colonel Mackrell, Captain M'Crae, and Captain Westmacott, fell on the occasion.

7. On the 6th ult., I received a hurried note from Major Pottinger, to the effect that he was closely besieged at Charekar, and unable to hold out for want of water. Major Pottinger himself, with Lieutenant Haughton, came into cantonments a day or two afterwards, having left the 4th regiment in a disorganised state in the neighbourhood of Istaliff; but, it is melancholy to relate, that no authentic tidings of them have up to this day been received. There is every reason to believe, that the entire corps (officers and men) have been annihilated. Captains Connington and Rattray and Lieutenant Salisbury were killed, before Major Pottinger left Charekar, and both he and Lieutenant Haughton were severely wounded.

8. I had written to Candahar and to Gundamuck for assistance, immediately on the occurrence of the outbreak: but General Sale's brigade had proceeded to Jellalabad—the whole country between this and that place being in a state of insurrection, and a return to Caubul being deemed impracticable. From Candahar, though I sent cossids with pressing requisitions for assistance almost every day, I could gain no intelligence, the road being entirely occupied by the troops and emissaries of the rebels. We learnt from native reports that Ghuzni was invested by the enemy, and that Captain Woodburn, who was on his way to Caubul from Candahar, had been massacred, with a party of leave-of-absence men, by whom he was accompanied, in a small fort on this side of Ghuzni.

9. We continued, up to the commencement of the present month, to derive a scanty supply, at great pecuniary sacrifices, from the neighbouring villages; but, about that time, the enemy's plans had become so well organized, that our supplies from this source were cut off. The rebels daily made their appearance in great force in the neighbourhood of the cantonment; and I lament to add that their operations were generally attended with success. The details will be communicated by the military authorities. In the midst of their success, Mahomed Akbar Khan arrived from Turkistan—an event, which gave new life to the efforts of the rebels.

10. In the mean time I had received so many distressful accounts, from the General commanding, of the state of our troops and cattle from want

of provisions, and I had been so repeatedly apprised by him (for reasons which he will himself doubtless explain) of the hopelessness of further resistance, that, on the 24th ultimo, I deemed it my duty to address an official letter to him, a copy of which accompanies, as Appendix A.

The General's reply was dated the same day; a copy accompanies, as Appendix B.

11. Affairs had attained so desperate a state on the 8th instant, that I again addressed to the General a letter, a copy of which accompanies, as Appendix C., and a copy of the General's reply of the same date, signed by three of his principal officers, accompanies, as Appendix D. On the next day, I received another letter from the General; a copy of which is sent, as Appendix E.

At my invitation, deputies were sent from the rebels, who came into cantonment on the 25th ultimo, I having in the mean time received overtures from them of a pacific nature, on the basis of our evacuating the country. I proposed to them the only terms, which, in my opinion, could be accepted with honour; but the temper of the rebels may best be understood when I mention that they returned me a letter of defiance the next morning, to the effect that, unless I consented to surrender our arms, and to abandon His Majesty to his fate, we must prepare for immediate hostilities. To this I replied, that we preferred death to dishonour, and that it would remain with a higher Power to decide between us.

12. I had subsequently a lengthened correspondence with Mahomed Usman Khan Barukzye, the most moderate and sensible man of the chiefs; and, as on the 11th instant we had not one day's provisions left, I held conference with the whole rebel chiefs. The day previous, I had learnt from a letter from Colonel Palmer, at Ghuzni, that there was no hope of reinforcements from Candahar. I had repeatedly kept His Majesty informed of the desperate state of our affairs, and of the probability that we should be compelled to enter into some accommodation with the enemy.

13. The conference with the rebels took place about a mile from cantonments. I was attended by Captains Lawrence, Trevor, and Mackenzie; and there were present, on the part of the rebels, the heads nearly of all the chief tribes in the country. I had committed to paper certain propositions, to which I had reason to believe they would have no objection, and I read it to the meeting; a copy accompanies as Appendix F. When I came to the—article, Mahomed Akbar interrupted me, and observed that we did not require supplies, as there was no impediment to our marching the next morning. I mention the above fact to show the impetuous disposition of this youth. He was reproved by the other chiefs; and he himself, except on this one occasion, behaved with courtesy, though evidently elevated by his sudden change of fortune.

15. The next day I was waited upon by a deputation from the chiefs, with a proposition that Shah Sujah-ul-Mulk should be left nominally as king—the Barukzye exercising the functions of minister; but this proposition, owing to the mutual jealousies of the parties concerned, as will appear in the sequel, fell to the ground.

16. From the foregoing review of occurrences, I trust it will be evident that I had no recourse left but that of negotiation; and I had ascertained beyond a doubt that the rebel chiefs were perfectly aware of our helpless situation, and that no terms, short of our quitting Afghanistan, would satisfy them.

17. The whole country, as far as we could learn, had risen in rebellion; our communications on all sides were cut off; almost every public officer,

whether paid by ourselves, or His Majesty, had declared for the new Governor; and by far the greater number even of His Majesty's domestic servants had deserted him. We had been fighting for forty days against very superior numbers, under most disadvantageous circumstances, with a deplorable loss of valuable lives; and in a day or two we must have perished from hunger, to say nothing of the advanced season of the year, and the extreme cold, from the effects of which our native troops were suffering severely. I had been repeatedly apprised by the military authorities, that nothing could be done with our troops; and I regret to add that desertions to the enemy were becoming of frequent occurrence amongst our troops. The terms, I secured, were the best obtainable; and the destruction of fifteen thousand human beings would little have benefitted our country, whilst our Government would have been almost compelled to avenge our fate, at whatever cost. We now part with the Afghans as friends, and I feel satisfied that any Government, which may be established hereafter, will always be disposed to cultivate a good understanding with us.

18. A retreat, without terms, would have been impracticable. It is true that, by entering into terms, we were prevented from undertaking the conquest of the entire country—a measure which, from my knowledge of the views of government, I feel convinced would never be resorted to, even were the means at hand. But such a project in the present state of our Indian finances, and the requisitions for troops in various quarters, I knew could not be entertained, if the expense already incurred in a such a case would have been intolerable.

19. I would beg leave to refer to the whole tenor of my former correspondence for the causes, which have produced this insurrection. Independently of the genius of the people, which is prone to rebellion, we, as conquerors and foreigners of a different creed were viewed with particular disfavour by the chiefs, whilst the acts of some of us were particularly calculated to excite the general jealousy of a sensitive nation. The haughty demeanour of his Majesty was not agreeable to the nobles and, above all, the measures of economy, to which it found necessary to resort, were particularly galling.

Throughout this rebellion, I was in constant communication with the Shah, through my assistant, Lieutenant J. B. Conolly, who was in attendance on His Majesty in the Balla Hissar.

On the — inst. it was agreed upon that our troops should evacuate the Balla Hissar, and return to the cantonments; while the Barukzyes should have a conference with His Majesty with a view to his retaining the nominal powers of sovereignty;—they for their own security placing a guard of their own in the upper citadel. No sooner, however, had our troops left the Balla Hissar, than His Majesty, owing to some panic or misunderstanding, ordered the gate to be shut, and the proposed conference was thereby prevented. So offended were the Barukzyes, that they determined never to offer his Majesty the same terms again. In explanation of his conduct, His Majesty states that the party, whom the Barukzyes desired to introduce, was not that party which had been agreed upon.

Many of the Envoy's private letters are much more interesting than this. The main interest, indeed, of the reports, is in the numerous evidences, comprising a portion of the correspondence between Macnaghten and Elphinstone, relative to the negotiation with the enemy—a correspondence of the most painful and humiliating kind. These letters, and others be-

tween the same party, are interpolated in the author's text, whilst the report is given in the appendix. But the letters are too numerous for us to give them in this place.

From the Envoy we may, not inappropriately, turn to the King. Here is one of Shah Sújah's letters:—

FROM H. M. SHAH SUJAH TO CAPTAIN MACGREGOR.

Let it be known to Mr. Macgregor, to the General, and to the other gentlemen, that what I did not wish to see, and which never entered into my imagination, it has been my lot to see. What I have already suffered, and am suffering, is known only to God.

Although I frequently remonstrated, they paid no attention to my words. These men have made fraud and deceit their trade. . . . During the time they were committing these excesses, and would not come in for some days, they continued plundering the shops, and exciting disturbances in the city; and in this business all the Sirdars were concerned, and on this account the lower orders became like hungry dogs: but God shamed them, for they got nothing. What has happened was fated, and was owing to our own neglect. However much I said, "Come up above; the fort is strong; for one year no one can be brought within it; with my servants, and from 500 to 1,000 others, the fort would be strong; and 2,000 or 3,000 others, with guns, sallying out, might collect grain:"—[it was in vain]. However, it has passed—such was our fate. I sent messages to cantonments, begging them not to defer their coming from to-day to to-morrow, from to-morrow to next day—that, please God, all would be right.

I had collected five or six lakhs of rupees in gold-mohurs, knowing that these people, except for money, would not act honestly, even with God. I spent three or four lakhs of rupees amongst them. Every tribe made oath, wrote on the Koran, and sealed; but they still said, "The king and the Feringhis are one." However, I have managed to bring them thus far, and given two lakhs more. It is a pity that I have no more money. If I had any more, and could raise 2,000 or 3,000 sowars, and 2,000 foot soldiers of my own, I would defy any one to stir. The foot-soldiers, too, who returned from the army, I collected—300 or 400—that they might be with my regiment. Oh! that God had never let me see this day! Although, if money reaches me, God will prosper every thing. To give money to an enemy to collect troops, and to come and kill you—did ever any one so trust an enemy? Even now have nothing to say to that dog.\* This, too, I have said to you, even as I warned you before. I am night and day absorbed in this one thought. It has occurred to my mind that it would be better if the few ladies and gentlemen should be brought here, in order that they might be released from the hands of that dog. This entered my mind; and I consulted with the Sirdars, and brought them to agree; before this, I had sent a paper to this effect to that dog. It struck me, that that dog would not release and send them here. I then decided that it would be judicious that Jubbar Khan should be sent. I hope that he will bring them to this place in safety. By the blessing of God, my mind will be at ease. No one will have power to say anything to them; they will remain in safety. If this is approved of by you, I will take this course; but inform me, if you do not approve of it, and can suggest anything else, that it may be arranged. Now, men of all ranks are flocking to me. . . . I have asked of God—if some money could be obtained all would go well, by God's assistance. \* \* \* At present, my subjects make petition to

\* Muhammad Akbar.

me to send money, and one of the princes with guns and an army to Candahar. \* \* \* I had sent for Mr. Conolly, and other gentlemen, to consult with them, as they had themselves asked the Sirdar to send for them; but some one said to them, "If you go to the king, he will kill you." It was their (the Sirdars,) intention that the king should kill them. They had sent me word secretly before hand. I replied, that if the world was upset, and every one my enemy, I would not do so. They then said, that it was really true what Jubbar Khan and Usman Khan had said—that the king was not separate from the Feringhis. If he is, they said, give these (English gentlemen) to the king, that he may kill them. I heard this, and gave them answer. They understood their position, and repented of the step they had taken. Since this occurrence, they come and go; and I have re-assured them. They now swear and protest that they will do nothing whatever without my wishes. If you think it can be done, God will shame my enemies.

We come now to the victorious Generals. There is a letter, written partly in English and partly in French by Sir Robert Sale. The enemy having in their camp men capable of reading and interpreting English, our authorities took to corresponding in French, or in an extraordinary melange of French and English. It appears to us that the following is marked by an amount of caution truly Hibernian—the most important part of the letter being blurted out in excellent Queen's English:—

MAJOR GENERAL SIR ROBERT SALE TO MAJOR-GENERAL POLLOCK.

*Jellalabad, 14th February, 1812.*

MY DEAR GENERAL,—Captain Macgregor's cossids yesterday brought me the information of your arrival at Peshawur, and of full military and political powers in Afghanistan being vested in you. I lose no time in sending such a view of the state of this garrison, as may enable you to form your own opinion on the necessity of moving to its relief. Nous avons des provisionnements pour les soldats Britanniques pour soixante-dix jours; pour les Sipahis et les autres natifs, demi provisionnements pour le même temps; et pour les chevaux de la cavalerie et l'artillerie de large, pour vingt cinq jours. Autant que nous pouvons renvoyer nos parties pour la fourrage, nous ne manquerons cela pour la cavalerie: mais nous serons entièrement privé de cette ressource après le premier jour d'investissement. A présent nous n'avons de fourrage que pour trente jours pour tous les animaux. Les chevaux d'artillerie et les yaboos des sapeurs sont de ce pays, et mangent seulement boozout kurlise. Nous manquons beaucoup aussi des munitions de guerre, plomb, &c.

When our animals can no longer be sustained by corn or forage only, we must of course destroy them. The hospitals are ill supplied with medicines, and much sickness may be apprehended, when the weather grows hot. At present the health of the garrison is excellent. We have no prospect of adding to our resources above detailed, even if we had money, which we have not. The country possesses abundance of supplies, of which the presence of a force would give us command.

Mahomed Akbar is at Cherbyl, in the Lughman district, and threatens an attack; and we may, in about fifteen days, though I think not sooner, be invested by a large force from Caubul, with a considerable artillery.

Believe me to be, my dear General,

Yours very truly,

RT. SALE, M.-G.

P. S.—I shall view la perte of my cavalry, should such occur, with much sorrow; as, from their successes against the enemy, they have acquired a confidence in themselves and contempt for their enemies, which feeling is equally participated in by the rest of the troops. As I cannot now get an opportunity to send you a return, I give a memorandum:—Cavalry, effective, deux cents quarante-un; malade, vingt-un. Artillerie, effective, un-cent soixante onze; malade, quarante-onze. Sapeurs, effective, trois cents quatre; malade, quarante-cinq. Infanterie Britannique, effective, sept cents dix-neuf; malade, trente. Sipahis, effective, huit cents trente-huit; malade, quarante-huit.

*February 16.* Hier Mahomed Akbar a passé la rivière, et a pris position sur ce côté, près de dix milles de cette ville. On dit qu'il a des soldats de tous armes, et quatre pièces de canon. On peut voir son camp d'ici.

RT. SALE.

*February 16.* I have received this morning yours of the 9th instant. S'ils n'envoient pas des canons de siège de Cautul, *peut être* je puis maintenir ma position dans cette ville, pour le temps que vous avez écrit; mais si une force avec les pièces (que nous avons perdu) arriveront ici, ce sera impossible; et avant cette époque nos chevaux mourront de faim. Il sera bien difficile et incertain de vous donner avis de mon intention de retirer, parce qu'à ce moment Mahomed Akbar est près, avec une force de deux milles hommes (qui s'augmente jour par jour), et à présent ses patrouilles et videttes parcourent tout le pays.

RT. SALE, M. G.

Sale was too straight-forward and single-minded a man to be very clever at managing a disguise. He has certainly cloaked his ideas indifferently well in the above. Here is a characteristic letter from Nott to Pollock, written cordially under feelings of strong irritation:—

GENERAL NOTT TO GENERAL POLLOCK.

*Candahar, 20th April, 1842.*

MY DEAR GENERAL,—My last news from your side was of the 5th instant. I regret I am not on my way to Ghuzni. I am tied to this place. My troops have had no pay since December, 1841. I am in want of almost everything. I have not carriage even for three regiments; and I have not a rupee to buy or to hire cattle. For five months I have been calling for aid from Sindh—none whatever has been sent. At last Major-General England moved with money and stores, but received a check in Pishin, and then retired to Shawl! I have now been obliged to send the best part of my force to the Kojuk Pass, in hopes of getting the treasure and stores I have so long been expecting, and without which my small force is paralysed. It is dreadful to think of all this. I ought to have been on my way to extend my hand to you from Ghuzni; instead of which I am obliged to make a movement on the Kojuk. I have felt the want of cavalry. I have the Shah's first regiment, but I have never been able to get them to charge. My sepoys have behaved nobly, and have licked the Afghans in every affair, even when five times their number. The moment my brigade returns from the Kojuk, I move on Kelat i-Ghilzie and Ghuzni, in hopes of saving some of our officers and men at the latter place. Instead of sending me cavalry, money, &c., the authority in Sindh coolly says, "When you retire bodily, I hope to render you some assistance." I believe I shall go mad! I have much to say, but am confined to a slip of paper.

Yours sincerely,

W. NOTT.

We may as well append to this the letter relative to the despatch of the brigade to Bamian:—

GENERAL NOTT TO GENERAL POLLOCK.

*Camp, 17th September, 1842.*

MY DEAR GENERAL,—I have been favoured with your note of this date, in which you express a wish that I should detach a brigade towards Bamian. Before you decide on sending it, I would beg to state as follows:—

1st. The troops under my command have just made a long and very difficult march of upwards of 300 miles; and they have been continually marching about for the last six months, and most certainly require rest for a day or two;—the same with my camels and other cattle. I lost twenty-nine camels yesterday, and expect to-day's report will be double that number.

2nd. I am getting short of supplies for Europeans and natives; and I can see but little probability of getting a quantity equal to my daily consumption at this place. I have little or no money.

3rd. I have so many sick and wounded, that I fear I shall have the greatest inconvenience and difficulty in carrying them; and, should any unnecessary operations add to their number, they must be left to perish. If I remain here many days, I shall expect to lose half my cattle, which will render retirement very difficult.

4th. I sincerely think, that sending a small detachment will and must be followed by deep disaster. No doubt Mahomed Akbar, Shumshudin, and the other chiefs, are uniting their forces; and I hourly expect to hear that Sir R. Shakespear is added to the number of British prisoners. In my last affair with Shumshudin and Sultan Jan, they had 12,000 men; and my information is that two days ago they set out for Bamian.

5th. After much experience in this country, my opinion is that, if the system of sending out detachments should be adopted, disaster and ruin will follow.

6th. After bringing these things to your notice, showing that my men require rest for a day or two, that my camels are dying fast, and that my supplies are nearly expended, if you should order my force to be divided, I have nothing to do but implicitly to obey your orders; but, my dear General, I feel assured you will excuse me, when I most respectfully venture to protest against it under the circumstances above noted. I could have wished to have stated this in person to you, but I have been so very unwell for the last two months, that I am sure you will kindly excuse me.

Yours sincerely,

WM. NOTT.

From Pollock's correspondence we select the following letter to the Adjutant-General, relative to the reputed excesses committed by the troops. It refers to one addressed to the Governor-General, quoted in the work before us:—

FROM GENERAL POLLOCK TO THE ADJUTANT-GENERAL.

*Dinapore, 18th April, 1843.*

SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 29th ult., which awaited my arrival here. I regret that I was not sooner in possession of your letter, as I fear this will be too late for the purpose required. Nearly all the information it is in my power to give is contained in the accompanying copies of letters, which I have addressed to the Right Honorable the Governor-General, in reply to a reference His Lordship was pleased to make to me. With respect to the extent of injury,

done by the brigade under Brigadier Monteath, I am unable to give any detailed account. The provisions, grain, &c., and materials for building, were taken from those of the inhabitants, who were openly opposed to our troops; but, in both cases, the cost of things taken was carried to the account of Government. I have already, in my letters to His Lordship, stated that I am not aware of any Afghans having been killed, when unresisting, or from any feeling of revenge on the part of the troops. Torabuz Khan, the chief of Lollpora, and the governor of Jellalabad, accompanied the brigade to point out what property should be respected. With regard to the violation of women, I heard of no instance of the kind; and I am quite sure, that Brigadier Monteath would have done his utmost to prevent such excesses. I have stated to His Lordship what occurred at Mamu Kail; and I know most positively that no Afghan was killed on that occasion except in fair fighting. The families had, I believe, gone the day before the place was taken. I cannot say when, or by whom, the fort or adjoining houses were set fire to. I passed through with the right column in pursuit of the enemy, and did not return till the afternoon, when I had determined to encamp there. On my return I found Brigadier Tulloch with his column (the left) occupying the gardens. The fort and adjacent houses were still burning. On the return of the whole of the troops, it was necessary for their security to take advantage of the gardens surrounded by walls; and the men were accordingly encamped there. The destruction of the vines was a necessary consequence; as every one must know, who has seen how grapes are cultivated in Afghanistan. There were very few trees cut down; but the bark of a number of them was taken for about two or three inches. With reference to the third paragraph of your letter, I beg to state, that from the date of my arrival at Caubul on the 15th of September, the inhabitants commenced returning to their houses. They had assurances from me of protection; and, with the exception of the covered bazaar, I did my utmost to protect both the inhabitants and their dwellings from injury. I have already stated to His Lordship, why I considered that particular spot (the bazaar) should suffer; and, on the 9th of October, the engineer commenced his operations. I believe I am quite justified in stating that no lives were lost; the private property had been removed; and I had both cavalry and infantry on duty in the city to prevent plundering. Some injury was no doubt sustained by the city; but the damage done, even when we left it, was partial and comparatively trivial. I consider it mere justice to the troops, who proceeded under my command to Caubul, and who passed over scenes, which were particularly calculated to cause great excitement among them, to state that their conduct on proceeding to the Balla-Hissar (passing through a part of the city) was quite unexceptionable; and the good effect resulting therefrom was immediately felt: confidence was restored; in proof of which I may state that supplies, both of grain and forage, were brought in abundantly, everything being paid for. I have no memorandum from which to quote the exact quantities of grain which came into camp, but my recollection of the quantities in round numbers is as follows:—The first day 500 maunds; second day 1,000 maunds; third day 1,600 maunds; fourth day 2,000 maunds; fifth day 1,000 maunds. The falling off of the supplies on the fifth day was the consequence, I was told, of the men of General Nott's force having plundered those who were bringing in supplies. I wrote to General Nott on the subject; but from that period the supplies never came in so freely as before, and I am sorry to add that many complaints were made. I have hitherto been silent on this subject, and should have continued so, for reasons which it is perhaps unnecessary to explain; but, as the third paragraph of your letter calls



for a more particular report, than I have hitherto made, I reluctantly forward the accompanying documents, upon which it is unnecessary for me to make any comments.

I beg, however, to state distinctly, that, until plundering commenced, supplies of every description were abundant, and the people were fast returning to the city. In reply to that part of the third paragraph, in which I am directed to state what injury, I understood, had been committed by the Candahar force after my march, I have merely to observe, that, from all I had heard, I thought it advisable that the whole force should move from Caubul the same day; and this precaution, I have reason to believe, prevented some excess.

In reply to the fourth paragraph, I believe I may with great truth state that no Afghans were destroyed in cold blood, either before or after reaching Caubul. No women were either dishonoured, or murdered, that I am aware of. With regard to the destruction of that particular part of the Caubul bazaar, where the envoy's remains were treated with indignity, and brutally dragged through, to be there dishonoured and spit upon by every Mussulman, I admit that I considered it the most suitable place, in which to leave decided proofs of the power of the British army, without impeaching its humanity.

I have, as directed by you, forwarded a copy of this letter and the original documents to Colonel Stewart, for the information of the Governor General.

I have the honour to be, Sir, &c. &c.,

GEO. POLLOCK.

We append with great pleasure the following gratifying tribute to the forbearance and general good conduct of the troops, on entering Kábul, in September 1842:—

FROM GENERAL POLLOCK TO LORD ELLENBOROUGH.

*Ghazipore, 10th April, 1843.*

MY LORD,—Since I had the honour to address your Lordship on the 2nd instant, in reply to your Lordship's letter, dated the 23rd ultimo, it has occurred to me that I could not produce better proof of the forbearance of the troops under my command, than by a reference to their conduct on the morning of the 16th of September last. I have already officially detailed the number of troops, which accompanied me on the occasion of planting the colours in the Balla-Hissar. It was deemed advisable on that occasion to go through a part of the city. Although the troops had arrived only the day before from a march, which was abundantly calculated to irritate and exasperate them, they so fully and literally obeyed the orders I had previously given, that not a house or an individual was injured, either in going, or returning, from the Balla-Hissar. The destruction of the residence of Khoda Bux, the chief of Tizin, may perhaps have been considered an excess; I will therefore explain, that, during the time the army remained in advance of Tizin, the chief of that place was the cause of our communication being cut off. He was repeatedly warned what the consequences would be, when an opportunity offered, if he persisted in such a course; but I beg to add that the injury to the chief, in the destruction of his residence, entailed no loss on others that I am aware of, as the injury done was confined almost entirely to the fortified dwelling. Forage was found there, and brought to camp, but not an individual was injured.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

GEO. POLLOCK.

Before we leave these military chiefs altogether, we must quote from these volumes an unpublished document from the pen of the greatest military chief of the age. It is a memorandum written by the Duke of Wellington, on reading Sir William Macnaghten's report on the commencement of the Ghilzie outbreak. The document has considerable *dramatic* interest; but we need scarcely say that its contents are more amusing, than they are important:—

COPY OF A MEMORANDUM BY THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON, ON SIR W. MACNAGHTEN'S LETTER OF OCTOBER 26, 1841.

*January 29th, 1842. At night.*

It is impossible to read the letter from Mr. Macnaghten to the Secretary to the Government in India, without being sensible of the precarious and dangerous position of our affairs in Central Asia.

Mr. Macnaghten complains of reports against the King Shah Sújah Khan and his government, as libels.

Of these we can know nothing; but I am convinced that no complaints or libels can be so strong, as the facts stated by Mr. Macnaghten in this letter.

It appears that when Mr. Macnaghten heard of the first symptoms and first acts of this rebellion, he prevailed upon the king to send a message to the rebels, inviting them to return to their allegiance.

The selection of the person sent is curious—Humza Khan, the Governor of Caubul. His mission failed, of course, says Mr. Macnaghten, because Humza Khan was the chief instigator of the rebellion!

We know in this country something of the customs of those countries—of the meaning of some of the native expressions in this letter. It appears that there are four thanahs, or posts, between Caubul and Gundanuck. A thanah is either a permanent or a temporary post, to guard a road or district of importance. We have seen who was the person selected to induce the rebels to submit; let us now see who were the persons appointed to take charge of these thanahs or posts in the disturbed country—those named in the subsequent part of the despatch, as the very men who were the leaders in the rebellion, in the attack, and destruction, and murder, of the East India Company's officers and troops!

No libels can state facts against the Afghan Government stronger than these.

But Mr. Macnaghten has discovered that the Company's troops are not sufficiently active personally, nor are they sufficiently well armed for the warfare in Afghanistan. Very possibly an Afghan will run over his native hills faster than an Englishman or a Hindu. But we have carried on war in hill countries, as well in Hindostan and the Deccan, as in the Spanish Peninsula; and I never heard that our troops were not equal, as well in personal activity as by their arms, to contend with and overcome any natives of any hills whatever. Mr. Macnaghten ought to have learnt by this time, that hill countries are not conquered, and their inhabitants kept in subjection, solely by running up the hills, and firing at long distances. The whole of a hill country, of which it is necessary to keep possession, particularly for the communications of the army, should be occupied by sufficient bodies of troops, well supplied, and capable of maintaining themselves; and not only, not a Ghilzye or insurgent should be able to run up and down hills, but not a cat or a goat, except under the fire of those occupying the hills. This is the mode of carrying on the war, and not by hiring Afghans with long matchlocks to protect and defend the communications of the British army.

Shah Sújah Khan may have in his service any troops that he and Mr. Macnaghten please. But if the troops in the service of the East India Company are not able, armed and equipped as they are, to perform the service required of them in Central Asia, I protest against their being left in Afghanistan. It will not do to raise, pay, and discipline matchlock-men, in order to protect the British troops and their communications, discovered by Mr. Macnaghten to be no longer able to protect themselves.

(Signed) WELLINGTON.

Having given these extracts from the illustrative documents in the work before us—extracts, however, which very imperfectly represent the documentary interest of the history of the war in Afghanistan (much of the most striking illustrative matter being so dove-tailed into the work itself as to be inseparable from the context), we now proceed to give a few extracts from the original matter. From the Introductory Book, we take the following, relative to—

#### MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE'S MISSION.

The mission proceeded through Bikanier, Bahwulpore,\* and Multan; and, ever as they went, the most marked civility was shown to the British ambassadors. But one thing was wanting to render the feeling towards them a pervading sentiment of universal respect. They had not long crossed the frontier, before they discovered that a more liberal display of the facial characteristics of manhood would elevate them greatly in the eyes of a people, who are uniformly bearded and moustached.† Our officers

\* It is worthy of remark in this place, that Mr. Strachey, who accompanied Mr. Elphinstone's mission in the capacity of secretary, and who, on this, as on other occasions, evinced the possession of a high order of intellect, drew up a very able memorandum on the advantages of forming a connexion with Bahwul Khan. In this paper there occurs the following prescient passage:—"Bahwul Khan might also be induced, in the event of actual hostilities, to invade the territories of Runjeet Singh at any point we might suggest, and thereby form an important diversion, whilst the British army would be advancing from another quarter of the Sikh territory."—*MS. Records.*

† It is said that Mr. Elphinstone's mission received this hint from an European deserter, named Pensley, who had been entertained, in a military capacity, by Shah Sújah. They might have learnt the lesson from Mr. Forster, who, twenty years before, had travelled in Afghanistan. That enterprising gentleman, a civil servant of the Company, found his beard of the greatest service. He suffered it to grow for fifteen months, and had reason to regret that, before he had wholly shaken off Eastern associations, he suffered the razor to profane it. Putting himself on board a Russian frigate in the Caspian, he thought that he might reduce his face to its old European aspect; but he tells us that "The Ghilan envoy, then proceeding on the frigate, expressed surprise to see me, whom he thought a Mahomedan, eating at the same board with the Russian gentlemen; but when he saw a barber commencing an operation on my beard, which I took the opportunity of having shaved, he evinced great amazement and indignation, nor did he, until repeatedly informed of my real character, cease his reprehension of the act; during the process of which he threw on me many a look of contempt. When the barber began to cut off the mustachios, he several times, in a peremptory manner, required him to desist, and, seeing them gone; 'Now', said he, 'of whatever country or sect you may be, your disgrace is complete, and you look like a woman.' Thus, after a growth of fifteen months fell my beard, which in that period had increased to a great magnitude, both in length and breadth, though it had been somewhat shrivelled by the severity of the late winters. When you advert to the general importance of an Asiatic beard, to the essential services which mine had rendered, and to our long and intimate association, I trust that this brief introduction of it to your notice will not be deemed impertinent. This operation of cutting it ought, however, to have been postponed till my arrival at Astracan."

have ever since carefully abstained from incurring this reproach; and it may be doubted whether, ever again, any hint will be required to stimulate them to encourage an Asiatic development of hair on the lower part of the face.

I do not intend to trace the progress of the mission. The story has been told with historical fidelity and graphic distinctness, in a book which is still, after the lapse of nearly forty years, the delight of Anglo-Indian readers, and which future generations of writers and cadets will turn to with undiminished interest. On the 25th of February, the Mission entered Peshawur. Crowds of wondering inhabitants came out to gaze at the representatives of the nation, which had reduced the Great Mogul to a shadow, and seated itself on the throne of Tippú. Pushing forward, with the outstretched neck of eager curiosity, they blocked up the public ways. The royal body-guards rode among the foot-passengers, lashed at them with their whips, tilted with their lances at grave spectators sitting quietly in their own balconies, and cleared the way as best they could. But, fast as they dispersed the thronging multitude, it closed again around the novel cavalcade. Through this motley crowd of excited inhabitants, the British mission was with difficulty conducted to a house prepared for them by royal mandate. Seated on rich carpets, fed with sweetmeats, and regaled with sherbet, every attention was paid to the European strangers. The hospitality of the king was profuse. His fortunes were then at a low ebb; but he sent provisions to the mission for two thousand men, with food for beasts of burden in proportion, and was with difficulty persuaded to adopt a less costly method of testifying his regal cordiality and respect.

Some dispute about forms of presentation delayed the reception of the English ambassadors. But in a few days everything was arranged for the grand ceremonial to take place on the 5th of March. When the eventful day arrived, they found the king, with that love of outward pomp which clung to him to the last, sitting on a gilded throne, crowned, plumed, and arrayed in costly apparel. The royal person was a blaze of jewellery, conspicuous among which the Koh-i-nûr, destined in after days to undergo such romantic vicissitudes, glittered in a gorgeous bracelet upon the arm of the Shah. Welcoming the English gentlemen with a graceful cordiality, he expressed a hope that the King of England and all the English nation were well, presented the officers of the embassy with dresses of honour, and then, dismissing all but Mr. Elphinstone and his secretary, proceeded to the business of the interview. Listening attentively to all that was advanced by the British envoy, he professed himself eager to accede to his proposals, and declared that England and Caubul were designed by the Creator to be united by bonds of everlasting friendship. The presents, which Mr. Elphinstone had taken with him to Afghanistan, were curious and costly; and, now that they were exposed to the view of the Shah, he turned upon them a face scintillating with pleasure, and eagerly expressed his delight. His attendants, with a cupidity that there was no attempt to conceal, laid their rapacious hands upon everything that came in their way, and scrambled for the articles, which were not especially appropriated by their royal master. Thirty years afterwards, the memory of these splendid gifts raised longing expectations in the minds of the courtiers of Caubul, and caused bitter disappointment and disgust, when Captain Burnes appeared with his pins and needles and little articles of hardware, such as would have disgraced the wallet of a pedlar of low repute.\*

\* It was the very costliness of these presents, and the lavish expenditure of the entire Mission, that gave the death-blow to the system of diplomatic extravagance, which had.

At subsequent interviews, the impression made by the Shah upon the minds of the English diplomatists was of a description very favourable to the character of the Afghan ruler. Mr. Elphinstone was surprised to find that the Douranee monarch had so much of the "manners of a gentleman," and that he could be affable and dignified at the same time. But he had much domestic care to distract him at this epoch, and could not fix his mind intently on foreign politics. His country was in a most unsettled condition. His throne seemed to totter under him. He was endeavouring to collect an army, and was projecting a great military expedition. He hoped to see more of the English gentlemen, he said, in more prosperous times. At present, the best advice that he could give them was that they should retire beyond the frontier. So, on the 14th of June, the Mission turned its back upon Peshawur, and set out for the provinces of Hindostan.

From the chapter on Dost Muhammad and the Barukzyes, some portion of which has appeared in a rougher shape in these pages, we take some remarks on the influence of the Dourani tribes upon the government of the day, and the efforts made by the Barukzye Sirdars to keep them under controul:—

#### DOST MUHAMMAD AND THE DOURANIS.

Upon one particular phase of Barukzye policy, it is necessary to speak more in detail. Under the Suddozye kings, pampered and privileged, the Dourani tribes had waxed arrogant and overbearing, and had in time erected themselves into a power capable of shaping the destinies of the empire. With one hand they held down the people, and with the other menaced the throne. Their sudden change of fortune seems to have unhinged and excited them. Bearing their new honours with little meekness, and exercising their new powers with little moderation, they revenged their past sufferings on the unhappy people whom they supplanted; and, partly by fraud, partly by extortion, stripped the native cultivators of the last remnant of property left to them on the new allocation of the lands. In the revolutions, which had rent the country throughout the early years of the century, it had been the weight of Dourani influence, which had ever turned the scale. They held, indeed, the crown at their disposal, and, seeking their own aggrandisement, were sure to array themselves on the side of the prince, who was most liberal of his promises to the tribes. The danger of nourishing such a power as this was not overlooked by the sagacious minds of the Barukzyes. They saw clearly the policy of treading down the Douranis, and soon began to execute it.

In the revolution, which had overthrown the Suddozye dynasty, the tribes had taken no active part, and the Barukzye Sirdars had risen to power, neither by their aid, nor in spite of their opposition. A long succession of sanguinary civil wars, which had deprived them, one by one, of the leaders to whom they looked for guidance and support, had so enfeebled

been favoured by the Elphinstones and Malcolms. When the accounts of the Afghan and Persian missions came before the Governor-General in Council, Lord Minto stood aghast at the enormous expenditure, and, in a stringent minute, recorded "his deliberative opinion, that the actual expenditure has far exceeded the necessity of the occasion—that the personal expenses of the Envoys might have been limited with respect both to the nature and extent of the items composing them—and that the provision of articles for presents, to an extent so enormous as that exhibited in the accounts of these missions, has been regulated by a principle of distribution unnecessarily profuse."—*MS. Records.*

and prostrated them, that but a remnant of their former power was left. No immediate apprehension of danger from such a source darkened the dawn of the Barukzye brethren's career. But to be cast down was not to be broken—to be enfeebled was not to be extinct. There were too much elasticity and vitality in the order for such accidents as this to subject it to more than temporary decline. The Douranis were still a privileged class; still were they fattening upon the immunities granted them by the Suddozye kings. To curtail these privileges and immunities, would be to strike at the source of their dominant influence and commanding strength; and the Barukzye Sirdars, less chivalrous than wise, determined to strike the blow, whilst, crippled and exhausted, the Douranis had little power to resist the attack. Even then they did not venture openly and directly to assail the privileges of the tribes by imposing an assessment of their lands, in lieu of the obligation to supply horsemen for the service of the state—an obligation which had for some time past been practically relaxed—but they began cautiously and insidiously to introduce “the small end of the wedge,” by taxing the Ryots or Humsayehs of the Douranis, whose various services, not only as cultivators, but as artificers, had rendered them, in the estimation of their powerful masters, a valuable kind of property, to be protected from foreign tyranny that they might better bear their burdens at home. These taxes were enforced with a rigour intended to offend the Dourani chiefs; but the trials, to which they were then subjected, but faintly fore-shadowed the greatest trials to come.

Little by little, the Barukzye Sirdars began to attach such vexatious conditions to the privileges of the Douranis—so to make them run the gauntlet to all kinds of exactions, short of the direct assessment of their lands—that, in time, harassed, oppressed, impoverished by these more irregular imposts, and anticipating every day the development of some new form of tyranny and extortion, they were glad to exchange them for an assessment of a more fixed and definite character. From a minute detail of the measures adopted by the Barukzye Sirdars, with the double object of raising revenue and breaking down the remaining strength of the Douranis, the reader would turn away with weariness and impatience; but this matter of Dourani taxation has too much to do with the after-history of the war in Afghanistan, for me to pass it by in this place, without at least a slight recognition of its importance.

The chapter on the “Commercial Mission to Caubul,” which opens the second book, affords us the following on—

#### LORD AUCKLAND AND THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE RUSSO-PHOBIA.

Nor did the early days of his government disappoint the expectations of those who had looked for a pains-taking, laborious administrator, zealous in the prosecution of measures calculated to develop the resources of the country, and to advance the happiness of the people. It appeared, indeed, that with something less of the uncompromising energy and self denying honesty of Lord William Bentinck, but with an equal purity of benevolence, he was treading in the footsteps of his predecessor. The promotion of native education, and the expansion of the industrial resources of the country, were pursuits far more congenial to his nature than the assembling of armies and the invasion of empires. He had no taste for the din and confusion of the camp; no appetite for foreign conquest. Quiet and unobtrusive in his manners, of a somewhat cold and impassive temperament, and altogether of a reserved and retiring nature, he was not one to court excitement, or to desire notoriety. He would fain have passed his allotted years of office in the prosecution of those small measures of domestic reform, which, individually,

attract little attention, but, in the aggregate, affect mightily the happiness of the people. He belonged, indeed, to that respectable class of governors, whose merits are not sufficiently prominent to demand ample recognition by his contemporaries, but whose noiseless unapplauded achievements entitle them to the praise of the historian and the gratitude of after-ages.

It was not possible, however intently his mind might have been fixed upon the details of internal administration, that he should have wholly disregarded the aggressive designs of Persia, and the obvious intrigues of the Russian Government. The letters from time to time by the British minister at the Persian Court were read at first, in the Calcutta Council-Chamber, with a vague interest, rather than with any excited apprehensions. It was little anticipated that a British army would soon be encamped before the fortresses of Afghanistan; but it was plain that events were taking shape in Central Asia, over which the British-Indian Government could not afford to slumber. At all events, it was necessary in such a conjuncture to get together some little body of facts, and to acquire some historical and geographical information relating to the countries lying between the Indian frontier and the eastern boundaries of the Russian Empire. Secretaries then began to write "notes," and members of Council to study them. Summaries of political events, genealogical trees, tables of routes and distances, were all in great requisition during the first years of Lord Auckland's administration. The printed works of Elphinstone, Conolly, and Burnes, of Malcolm and Fraser, were to be seen on the breakfast-tables of our Indian statesmen, or in their hands, as they were driven to Council. Then came Sir John M'Neill's startling pamphlet on the Progress and Present Position of Russia in the East. M'Neill, Urquhart, and others, were writing up the Eastern question at home; reviewers and pamphleteers of smaller note were rushing into the field with their small collections of facts and arguments. It was demonstrated past contradiction, that, if Russia were not herself advancing by stealthy steps towards India, she was pushing Persia forward in the same easterly direction. If all this was not very alarming, it was, at least, worth thinking about. It was plainly the duty of Indian statesmen to acquaint themselves with the politics of Central Asia, and the geography of the countries through which the invasion of India must be attempted. It was only right that they should have been seen tracing on incorrect maps the march of a Russian army from St. Petersburg to Calcutta, by every possible and impossible route, now floundering among the inhospitable steppes, now parching on the desert of Merve. The Russian army might not come at last; but it was clearly the duty of an Indian statesman to know how it would endeavour to come.

A long chapter is devoted to a detailed account of the siege of Herat. Perhaps the chapter is a little out of proportion to the general dimensions of the work; but it is to be remembered that the siege lasted nearly a year, and was the origin of the war in Afghanistan. The details, too, are altogether novel. Hitherto, we have seen the siege of Herat, as it has been somewhat dimly represented by spectators in the Persian camp. We now see it from the Herat-side, and learn for the first time particulars of the defence. Here we catch a glimpse of Yar Mahomed's

#### PREPARATIONS FOR THE DEFENCE OF HERAT.

Matters now began to wear a more alarming aspect. Cursing with his whole heart the cowardice or treachery of his brother, who, almost without

a struggle, had shamefully surrendered his charge,\* Yar Mahomed, with increased vigour, addressed himself to the defence of the city. The gates were closed against all egress. The people poured into Herat in floods from the surrounding country. In every house were huddled together the members of five or six families. The very ruins were thickly tenanted. But still the streets were alive with throngs of people seeking habitations in the city. Everywhere excitement and alarm were visible in the countenances and the gestures of the Heratis. It was a strange and fearful conjuncture, and no man felt himself secure. A fiat had gone forth for the apprehension of all persons of doubtful loyalty. Many, suspected of infidelity, were seized, their persons imprisoned, and their property confiscated; whilst others, in whom the spirit of rebellion had been more clearly evidenced, were plunged, with all their family and dependents, into one great sea of ruin. When it was known that Shumsud-din Khan,† an Afghan chief of note, had thrown off his allegiance to Herat, all his Persian dependents were seized and stripped of all they possessed. Some were tortured, some were sent into slavery, and some were condemned to death. The women and children were sold or given away. Those of the Afghan tribes were more mercifully treated; but few escaped imprisonment and fine. Nor were even the priesthood spared. The Mullahs of the Shiah sect were arrested and confined, lest they should stir up intrigue and disaffection among the people.

Whilst these precautions against internal revolt were taken by the Shah and his unscrupulous minister, actively and unceasingly they laboured to defend the city against the enemy advancing from without. The fortifications now began to bristle with armed soldiers. The hammer of the artificer rang upon the guns in the embrasures. The spade of the workman was busy upon the ramparts. Eager for the fray, the trooper mounted his horse, and scoured the country to cut off stragglers. But still the Persian army moved forward in that compact and well-ordered mass, which had baffled the efforts, and kindled the indignation of marauders, along their whole line of march. Soon the contest actually commenced. On the 22nd of November, the advanced guard of the Persian army took up its position on the plain to the north-west of the city. Watching its opportunity, the Afghan horse charged the enemy's cavalry with success, and then fell upon an infantry regiment, which stood firm, and repulsed the attack. The Persian field artillery opened briskly upon the Afghan force. A couple of guns in the city replied to them; whilst a party of Afghan horsemen, dismounted, crept under cover, and with their long rifle-barrelled matchlocks, fired on the Persian gunners. Upon this, skirmishers were sent out by the Persians, who turned the flank of the Afghans, and forced them back to the position

\* This was Yar Mahomed's first angry view of the case; but it may be doubted whether Shere Mahomed Khan was fairly to be censured for the loss of Ghorian. Of small dimensions, and unfurnished with bomb-proofs, the place was ill calculated to sustain the heavy vertical fire of shot and shell, which the Persian artillery poured into it. A magazine and store-house took fire; and, at the time of its surrender, Colonel Stoddart pronounced it to be quite untenable.

† Shums-ud-din Khan of Herat was a Populzye nobleman of very good family, and in great favour with Shah Kamran, before the commencement of the siege of Herat. His sister was the Shah's favourite wife; and he was entirely in his Majesty's confidence. A position of so much power, however, made Yar Mahomed his enemy; and it was to escape the minister's persecution, that he deserted to the Persian camp on the approach of the invading army. Had he remained in the city, he would certainly have been imprisoned, or assassinated; for the Shah was powerless to protect him. It was surmised, indeed, that his Majesty counselled, or at any rate connived at, his flight, as his only means of escape.



which they had taken up before. No advantage was gained by either party. But the contest was now fairly commenced.

The siege was soon in operation; but at first it did not proceed with much vigour. For the first time, the two contending forces were brought vigorously together, on the 20th of January—more than ten months after the commencement of the siege. We may as well quote the following account of an

#### ACTION BEFORE HERAT.

It was a fine bright morning. The whole city was in an unusual state of excitement. Partly impelled by curiosity, partly moved by a more laudable ambition to fill the places of those whose services were required beyond the walls, the citizens flocked to the ramparts. Along the whole eastern face of the fortifications, the parapets and towers were alive with men. "The old Afghans and relatives of the military," writes Pottinger, "in like manner crowded the *fausse-braye*. I do not think that less than 7,000 men were assembled on one side in view of the enemy." The scene on which they looked down was a most exciting one. It stirred the hearts of that eager multitude as the heart of one man. The Afghan cavalry, on issuing from the city, had spread themselves over the open country to the east, and the foot-men had taken possession of a neighbouring village and its surrounding gardens. The Persian videttes had fallen back; the trenches and batteries had been manned; and the reserves had stood to their arms, when, looking down from the ramparts, the excited Heratis saw the Persian Sirdar, Mahomed Khan., with a large body of troops, prepare himself for an offensive movement, and push onward to the attack. At the head of the column was the Persian cavalry. As soon as they appeared in sight, the Afghan horse streamed across the plain, and poured itself full upon the enemy.

The charge of the Afghans was a gallant and a successful one. Whilst the ramparts of Herat rang with the excited acclamations of "*Shabash! Shabash! Ohuh Rustum-any!*" (Bravo! Bravo! conduct worthy of Rustum himself!), the Persian column gave way before its impetuous assailants, and retreated amongst the buildings from which it had debouched. For a short time the progress of the struggle was lost sight of by the gazers on the ramparts; but the sharp, quick rattle of the musketry, the loud booming of the guns, and the columns of dust that rose against the clear sky, told that the infantry and artillery had covered the retreat of the Persian horsemen. The tide of victory now turned against the Afghan force. The Heratis, who before had driven back the Persian cavalry, were now in turn driven back by the enemy. The squadrons in the rear, instead of closing up, wheeled about; and the whole column was soon in flight. Recovering themselves, however, for a short time, the struggle was briefly renewed on the plain; but, the Persian horse, being well supported by the infantry planted in the gardens on both sides, whilst the rear of the Afghan cavalry afforded no support to the troops in front, the flight of the Heratis was renewed, and a gun was brought to bear upon their retreating columns. With varying success the battle was continued throughout the day. Towards evening, the Afghans regained the advantage which they had lost at an earlier period of the engagement; and, as the shades of evening fell over the scene, the Persians evacuated the posts they had occupied, and the Afghans were left in possession of the field. The engagement, though a long, was not a sanguinary one. The loss on the side

of the Afghans was not estimated at more than twenty five or thirty killed. The Heratis, of course, claimed the victory; but the Shiah inhabitants, who had made their way to the walls of the city, and were among the spectators of the fight, could not repress their inclination to sneer at a success of so dubious a character.\* To the young English officer, who had watched the events of the day, it was very clear that neither army was of a very formidable character. The Afghan cavalry made a better show than that of the enemy; but in the infantry branch the advantage was greatly on the side of the Persians. The whole affair was nothing better than a series of skirmishes, now resulting in favour of one party, now of another. But the crafty Wuzir boasted of it as a great triumph; and, on the following morning, went round to all those parts of the works, from which the scene below could not be observed, rendering a highly embellished account of the events of that memorable day. "Though so changed," says Pottinger, "that scarcely any one could recognise it, those who had been present in the fight, finding themselves such heroes, commenced swelling and vapouring. The soldiery gathered round in the greatest excitement, and their opinion of their own superiority to the Persians was greatly increased. Many of them would say, "If we had but guns!" Others, evidently disliking the Persian cannon, would improve on this, and say, "Ah! if the infidels had no guns, we would soon send them away."

Far more interesting, however, than this, is the account of the great Russian-directed assault of the Persians, in the summer of that year, when Yar Mahomed's courage for the first time gave way, and, only by Pottinger's vigorous exertions, was he brought to make a last gallant effort for the repulse of the stormers. Some vague accounts of this incident have already appeared in print. We now have it before us, for the first time, in an authentic shape, and one differing considerably from that in which it has hitherto appeared.

Our extracts have extended to such a length, that we must now proceed *per saltum* to the second of the volumes before us and throw ourselves at once into the midst of the Kábul insurrection. Here is an account of the

#### DEATH OF SIR ALEXANDER BURNES.

The houses of Sir Alexander Burnes and of Captain Johnson, the paymaster of the Shah's troops, were contiguous to each other in the city. On the preceding night, Captain Johnson had slept in cantonments. The expectant Resident was at home. Beneath his roof was his brother, Lieutenant Charles Burnes, and Lieutenant William Broadfoot, an officer of rare merit, who had been selected to fill the office of military secretary to the new minister, and had just come in from Charekar to enter upon

\* Contending emotions of sympathy, now with their co-religionists, and now with their fellow-citizens, agitated the breasts of the Heratis. "I went," writes Pottinger, on the 2nd of February, "to see a Shiah: he was grieving over the fate which hung over him; one moment cursing Mahomed Shah's pusillanimity—the next, the Afghan tyranny. But, through the whole of his discontent, I observed he felt a sort of pride and satisfaction in being the countryman of those, who set the Persians at defiance. But he appeared fully impressed with the idea that the city must fall: whilst the Afghans, I had just left, were talking of plundering Teheran with the aid of our artillery and infantry."

his new duties. It was now the anniversary of the day on which his brother had been slain by Dost Mahomed's troopers, in the disastrous affair of Purwundurrah; and it must have been with some melancholy recollections of the past, and some dismal forebodings of the future, that he now looked down from the upper gallery of Burnes's house, upon the angry crowd that was gathering beneath it.

Before daylight on that disastrous morning, an Afghan friend sought admittance to Burnes's house, eager to warn him of the danger, with which he was encompassed. A plot had been hatched on the preceding night; and one of its first objects was said to be the assassination of the new Resident. But Burnes had nothing but incredulity to return to such friendly warnings. The man went. The insurgents were gathering. Then came Usman Khan, the Wuzir, crossing Burnes's threshold, with the same ominous story on his lips.\* He was no longer permitted to the English officer to wrap himself up in an impenetrable cloak of scepticism. Already was there a stir in the streets. Already was an excited populace assembling beneath his windows. Earnestly the Afghan minister spoke of the danger, and implored Burnes to leave his house—to accompany him to the Balla Hissar, or to seek safety in cantonments. The Englishman, deaf to these appeals, confident that he could quell the tumult, and scorn-

\* "Before daylight a well-wisher of Burnes came to report to him that a plan had been hatched during the night, which had for its chief object his murder. Unfortunately Sir Alexander could not be convinced that the man was telling the truth, and paid no heed to what he said. Shortly after, the Wuzir, Usman Khan, arrived (by this time the mob was assembling). The Wuzir urged him to leave his house, and proceed to cantonments. Sir Alexander scorned the idea of quitting his house, as he had every hope of quelling the disturbance; and, let the worst come to the worst, he felt too well assured that neither the Envoy nor General would permit him to be sacrificed, whilst in the performance of his public duty, so long as there were 6,000 men within two miles of him."—[*Captain Johnson's Journal. MS. Records*] "The King's ministers went to Burnes early in the morning of the 2nd, and warned him of what was about to happen—of the danger of remaining in his house—and requested him to accompany him to the Balla Hissar; but he was deaf to all entreaties, incredulous and persevered in disbelief that any outbreak was intended; yet I am told he wrote into cantonments for a military force to protect him."—[*Letter of Brigadier Shelton. MS. Records.*] The statement of Captain Johnson to the effect that a native friend warned Burnes early in the morning of the 2nd of November, that his life was in danger, is confirmed by Lieutenant Eyre, who says that the man's name was Taj Mahomed. But Bhow Singh, Burnes's chuprassie, the only surviving witness of what passed in that officer's house upon the fatal morning, says that his master did not wake before the arrival of the Wuzir; and that the man (Wulli Mahomed by name), who had called to warn Burnes of his danger, was not admitted, nor was his message ever delivered. "On the day of the murder," says this witness, "as early as three o'clock in the morning, a Cossid (Wulli Mahomed) came to me. I was on duty outside; he said, 'Go, and inform your master immediately that there is a tumult in the city, and that the merchants are removing their goods and valuables from the shops.' I knew what my master had said on the subject the day before; so I did not like awaking him, but put on my chuprass and went to the Char Chouk. Here I met the Wuzir, Nizam-ud-Dowlah, going towards my master's house. I immediately turned with him, and on my arrival awoke my master, who dressed quickly, and went to the Wuzir, and talked to him some time." As this man speaks of what he saw, and what he did on the morning of the 2nd of November, I conceive that his evidence is the best that is now obtainable. He states that "Sir Alexander Burnes was duly informed by his Afghan servants, the day previous to his murder, that there was a stir in the city, and that, if he remained in it, his life would be in danger: they told him he had better go to the cantonments; this he declined doing, giving as his reason that the Afghans never received any injury from him, but, on the contrary, he had done much for them, and that he was quite sure they would never injure him." The visit of Taj Mahomed must have been paid on the day before the outbreak.

ing the idea of quitting his post, rejected the friendly counsel of the Wuzir, and remained to face the fury of the mob.

But even to Alexander Burnes, incredulous of imminent danger as he was, it seemed necessary to do something. He wrote to the Envoy, calling for support. And he sent messengers to Abdúllah Khan. Two chuprassies were despatched to the Achetzkye chief, assuring him that, if he would restrain the populace from violence, every effort would be made to adjust the grievances complained of by the people and the chiefs. One only of the messengers returned. He brought back nothing but wounds. The message had cost the other his life.

In the mean while, from a gallery in the upper part of his house, Burnes was haranguing the mob. Beside him were his brother and his friend. The crowd before his house increased in number and in fury. Some were thirsting for blood; others were greedy only for plunder. He might as well have addressed himself to a herd of savage beasts. Angry voices were lifted up in reply, clamouring for the lives of the English officers. And too surely did they gain the object of their desires. Broadfoot, who sold his life dearly, was the first to fall. A ball struck him on the chest; and the dogs of the city devoured his remains.

It was obvious now that nothing was to be done by expostulation—nothing by forbearance. The violence of the mob was increasing. That, which at first had been an insignificant crowd, had now become a great multitude. The treasury of the Shah's paymaster was before them; and hundreds, who had no wrongs to redress and no political animosity to vent, rushed to the spot, hungering after the spoil which lay so temptingly at hand. The streets were waving with a sea of heads; and the opposite houses were alive with people. It was no longer possible to look unappalled upon that fearful assemblage. A party of the insurgents had set fire to Burnes's stables;\* had forced their way into his garden; and were calling to him to come down. His heart now sank within him. He saw clearly the danger that beset him—saw that the looked-for aid from cantonment had failed him in the hour of his need. Nothing now was left to him, but to appeal to the avarice of his assailants. He offered them large sums of money, if they would only spare his own and his brother's life. Their answer was a repetition of the summons to "come down to the garden." Charles Burnes and a party of chuprassies were, at this time, firing on the mob. A Mussulman Cashmerian, who had entered the house, swore by the Koran that, if they would cease firing upon the insurgents, he would convey Burnes and his brother through the garden in safety to the Kuzzilbash Fort. Disguising himself in some articles of native attire, Burnes accompanied the man to the door. He had stopped but a few paces into the garden, when his conductor called out with a loud voice, "This is Sekunder Burnes!" The infuriated mob fell upon him with frantic energy. A frenzied mullah dealt the first murderous blow; and in a minute the work was complete. The brothers were cut to pieces by the Afghan knives. Naib Sheriff, true to the last, buried their mutilated remains.

From this painful scene we turn to something still more painful:—

#### GENERAL ELPHINSTONE.

The officers who served under General Elphinstone throughout this

\* Hadji Khan, who had been Kutwal of the city, and had been removed through Burnes's instrumentality, is said to have brought fuel for the purpose from some contiguous *hummams*, or baths.

unhappy crisis have invariably spoken of him with tenderness and respect. He was an honourable gentleman—a kind-hearted man—and he had once been a good soldier. His personal courage has never been questioned. Regardless of danger, and patient under trial, he exposed himself without reserve, and bore his sufferings without complaining. But disease had broken down his physical strength, and enfeebled his understanding. He had almost lost the use of his limbs. He could not walk; he could hardly ride. The gout had crippled him in a manner, that it was painful to contemplate. You could not see him engaged in the most ordinary concerns of peaceful life without an emotion of lively compassion. He was fit only for the invalid establishment on the day of his arrival in India. It was a mockery to talk of his commanding a division of the army in the quietest district of Hindostan. But he was selected by Lord Auckland, against the advice of the Commander-in-Chief and the remonstrances of the Agra Governor, to assume the command of that division of the army, which, of all others, was most likely to be actively employed, and which demanded, therefore, the greatest amount of energy and activity in its commander. Among the general officers of the Indian army were many able and energetic men, with active limbs and clear understandings. There was one—a cripple, whose mental vigour much suffering had enfeebled; and he was selected by the Governor-General to command the army in Afghanistan.

Ever since his arrival at the head-quarters, Caubul, he had been, in his own words, "unlucky in the state of his health." From the beginning of May to the beginning of October he had been suffering, with little intermission, from fever and rheumatic gout. Sometimes he had been confined wholly to his couch; at others he was enabled to go abroad in a palanquin. During one or two brief intervals he had sufficiently recovered his strength to trust himself on the back of a horse. He was in the enjoyment of one of these intervals—but expecting every day to relinquish a burden, which he was so ill able to bear\*—when, on the 2nd of November, whilst inspecting the Guards, he "had a very severe fall—the horse falling upon him;†" and he was compelled to return to his quarters. From that time, though he never spared himself, it was painfully obvious that the Caubul army was without a chief. The General was perplexed—bewildered. He was utterly without resources of his own. A crisis had come upon him, demanding all the energies of a robust constitution and a vigorous understanding; and it had found him, with a frame almost paralysed by disease, and a mind quite clouded by suffering. He had little knowledge of the political condition of Afghanistan; of the feelings of the people; of the language they spoke; or the country they inhabited. He was compelled, therefore, to rely upon the information of others, and to seek the advice of those, with whom he was associated. So circumstanced, the ablest and most confident general would have been guided by the counsels of the British envoy. But General Elphinstone was guided by every man's counsels—generally by the last speaker's—by captains and subalterns, by any one who had a plan to propose, or any kind of advice to offer. He was, therefore, in a constant state of oscillation; now inclining to one opinion, now to another; now determining upon a course of action, now abandoning it; the resolutions of one hour giving way before the doubts of its successor, until, in the midst of

\* He had sent in a medical certificate some time before, and received permission to return to Hindostan. He was to have accompanied the Envoy.

† Memorandum found among the effects of the late Major-General Elphinstone, C. B., in his own hand-writing.

these vacillations, the time to strike passed away for ever, and the loss was not to be retrieved.

In such a conjuncture, there could have been no greater calamity than the feeble indecision of the military commander. Promptitude of action was the one thing demanded by the exigencies of the occasion ; but, instead of promptitude of action, there was nothing but hesitation and incertitude—long delays and small doings, worse than nothing—paltry demonstrations, looking as though they were expressly designed as revelations either of lamentable weakness, or folly more lamentable still. To the Envoy all this was miserably apparent. It was apparent to the whole garrison. It was not possible altogether to supersede the General. He was willing, with all his incompetency, to serve his country, and there was no authority in Afghanistan to remove him from his command. But something, it was thought, might be done by associating with him, in the command of the cantonment force, an officer of a more robust frame and more energetic character. Brigadier Shelton was known to be an active and a gallant soldier. Macnaghten counselled his recall from the Balla Hissar, and the General believing, or perhaps only hoping, that he would find a willing coadjutor in the Brigadier, despatched a note to him with instructions to come into cantonment.

We have taken these passages at random, and seriously think that they give a very fair idea of the character of the work before us ; but the most interesting portions of the book are so inseparably mixed up with their contexts, that we have found it difficult, if not impossible, to extract them. The chief value of the work resides in its undoubted authenticity. Almost every assertion is supported by authority, quoted either in the text, the margin, or the *appendix* ; and the authorities so quoted are mostly original authorities. We are precluded from expressing any opinion regarding the literary merits of the work ; but we may express our belief that it has been undertaken and carried out in good faith, and that the author at least has a strong conviction that it contains nothing at variance with the truth.

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ART. IX.—*Sketch of Mairwara; giving a brief account of the origin and habits of the Mairs; their subjugation by a British force; their civilization, and conversion into an industrious peasantry. With descriptions of various works of irrigation in Mairwara and Ajmir, constructed to facilitate the operations of agriculture, and guard the district against drought and famine. Illustrated with Maps, Plans and Views. By Lieut.-Colonel C. G. Dixon, Bengal Artillery, Superintendent Ajmir and Mairwara, and Commandant Mairwara Local Battalion. London. 1850.*

WHERE is Mairwara? What kind of a country is it? Why should a quarto-book be published about it rather than about hundreds of other districts? Whosoever wishes a full and complete answer to these questions will find it in the volume before us. For those who will be satisfied with less than a full and complete answer, but yet seek somewhat more information than is furnished by Hamilton's *Gazetteer*, we shall endeavour to make provision in the present article. But our object will not be fully attained, unless we can convert some of the seekers of a little information into seekers of full information; unless our readers be so pleased with the pre-gustation we intend to furnish them withal, that they will proceed with a whetted appetite to the perusal of Colonel Dixon's volume.

Having mentioned Hamilton, we may as well extract all that he tells us about the district in question: we shall have an opportunity in the sequel of examining the accuracy of the information that he affords.

"MARWAR (*Marawa*)—A large and ancient division of the Ajmir province, situated principally between the 26th and 28th degrees of N. latitude: but in modern times better known as the Raja of Joudpur's territories. In former times the word Marwar, as including the town and fortress of Ajmir, became almost synonymous with the name of the province. The word Marawa signifies any dry desert soil, possibly from *maru*, desert, and *stholi*, dry land, a region where one dies. The table-land or plateau of Marwar (if so irregularly mountainous a country deserve such an appellation) rises towards the South, the Marwar range being probably 1,000 feet above Mewar, and some of the mountainous peaks 2,000 feet above that plain and the valley of the Nerbudda. The most elevated of the Abu mountains, as indicated by the barometer, has been estimated at 5,000 feet above the level of the sea, the summit producing European fruits and shrubs. This division of Rajputana has

‘ been possessed by the Rhatore tribe for many ages, and contains many forts and strong-holds, now mostly subject to Joudpúr. On investigation, the Missionaries found that the Lord’s Prayer in the Marwar language contained twenty-eight of the thirty-two words particularized in the Bengalese and Hindustani specimens.

‘ Besides the regular Hindu and Muhammadan population, this district is partly occupied by savage and predatory races, who frequently require the active interference of the British troops stationed at Nussirabad. One of these, Mhairs (a race resembling the Bhils,) inhabit the Marwar hills, named Mhairwara, and have given much trouble, both to their neighbours and to the British functionaries in Rajputana. Their religion does not seem clearly ascertained; but the Brahminical and Mussulman influence is probably by this time diffused among them. In 1820, it became necessary to march a detachment against them, which captured Hallún, their principal fortress, and routed them from many of their strong-holds. Another turbulent and thievish race are the Minas, but in what they differ from Mhairs, and from low-caste Hindus and Muhammadans, Bhils, Gonds, Kulis, Katties and other wild and predatory hill races, has never been properly investigated. In 1819 they also were driven out of their fortresses, and the whole country scoured, until they submitted to the amicable arrangements dictated by the British Government. It is certainly desirable to ascertain what peculiar circumstances have led to the superior barbarity of the Mhairs and Minas scattered over the hill country of Sarowy, Joudpur, and Jeypur: but it is likely they were as much sinned against by the neighbouring powers as they themselves sinned; for, on British protection being notified to them in 1821, many Bhils and Minas left their haunts among the hills and settled in their former villages, and disciplined corps of these robbers were established to enforce honesty among their neighbours.

‘ In 1811, the annual fall of rain, never abundant, failed in Marwar, which, in addition to the desolation caused by clouds of locusts, drove the inhabitants of that unfortunate country for subsistence into the centre of Gujerat. Misery still pursued them, for in 1812 Gujerat also experienced a failure of rain, and consequent scarcity, which soon reduced the already half-starved emigrants to a most deplorable condition; yet they most unaccountably declined employment when tendered, even with the prospect of death as the consequence of their refusal. The vicinity of every large town in Gujerat was then crowded with these wretched creatures, infirm, dying, dead, and half



' eaten by dogs, who acquired an unnatural degree of ferocity  
' from having so long fed on human bodies. Even the distinction  
' of caste was at length forgotten, and the Brahmin was seen selling  
' his wife for two or three rupees to such as would receive her ;  
' at Baroda, the Guicowar's capital, the weekly return of Mair-  
' wara burials exceeded 500 bodies. Much was done by native  
' charity; large subscriptions were raised, aided by a liberal sum  
' from the Baroda Government ; but all was unavailing ; the ex-  
' tent of the calamity exceeded the human power of efficient  
' alleviation. In the mean time the unfortunate emigrants spread  
' themselves over the Gujerat province, from the Gulph of Cutch  
' to Surat, and in many instances to Bombay ; and there is reason  
' to believe, that of the whole mass, not one in an hundred  
' ever returned within the limits of his native province.—*Publish-  
' ed MS. Documents, Major Carnac, &c.*

The Mairwara of Colonel Dixon, however, is not co-extensive with the Marwara of Hamilton. The former is but the eastern portion of the latter, as is evident from the first sentence of the work before us:—"The tract of country known by the name of Mairwara forms a portion of the Arabala chain of hills, running from Gujerat to within a few miles of Delhi. It is bounded by Ajmir to the north, and separates Meywar on the east from Marwar on the west: to the south are the hill possessions of Meywar." The district is about 100 miles long, and its breadth varies from three or four to about twenty-five miles. Such is the country where one of the most interesting experiments of modern times has been tried—the experiment of converting a race of marauding barbarians into an industrious peasantry. That this experiment has been to a very great degree successful, we think there can be no reasonable doubt, although some may be inclined to suppose that the *couleur-de-rose* tinge that Colonel Dixon throws over the picture is partly reflected from his own kindly feelings towards a people for whom he has done so much, and a country which it has been his high honour so signally to benefit.

It cannot be uninteresting to any of our readers to be made acquainted with the process, by which the conversion has been effected of a people from barbarism to civilization, and of a country from a virtual desert into a fertile land ; and our purpose is to lay before our readers so much of Colonel Dixon's narrative in a condensed form as may suffice to give them a general idea of the methods by which so salutary a reform has been effected. Up to thirty years ago, the Mairs were neither more nor less than a large community of free-booters. They consisted mainly of fugitives from justice, or from religious persecution, or

political jealousy, in the neighbouring states, and of the descendants of such fugitives. As in the case of old Rome, "eo ex finitimis populis turba omnis sine discrimine, liber an servus esset, avida novarum rerum perfugit;" and as in the case of Rome also, this race was more distinguished by a love of bold adventure than by a taste for the peaceful pursuits of pastoral or agricultural life. Our author institutes a comparison between the Mairs and the Highlanders of Scotland, in the days when they were in the habit of "lifting" the cattle and goods of their lowland neighbours in a gentlemanly way;—and in some respects, no doubt, the parallel holds good; the Highlanders "lifted" and the Mairs "lifted;" but we do not know that the Scotch Highlanders ever acted in this matter in a national capacity. Clan went to war with clan, in consequence of some feud, and the victorious clan plundered the vanquished; yea, it is not improbable that the desire of booty might occasionally be a concomitant inducement to undertake a war; but we do not think that it generally, or ever, constituted the professed *casus belli*. The men who habitually robbed, and levied black mail upon their lowland neighbours, were probably under the protection of the chieftains; but we are not aware that robbing was ever followed as a profession by chieftains and their clans as such. Whereas all this seems to have been the case with the Mairs. They were merely a band of robbers. The tie that bound them together was purely a predatorial one; they were associated for no other purpose than that of plundering. And they plundered merely and confessedly for the sake of plundering; they did not go to war on points of honour or national concern, and then take, as a not ungrateful accident, the booty that might fall into their hands; but they went forth to rob for their livelihood wherever they could find it; "but they never had recourse to arms, except in cases of resistance and dire necessity." Our readers may differ in their estimate of the distinction that we have endeavoured to point out; but we think that a real difference did exist, and that it was but fair to state it.

The different nations and tribes of Rajputs could not be expected to surrender themselves quietly as the victims of these depredations; and accordingly they made frequent incursions into their territories, both with the view of inflicting vengeance on account of depredations committed, and of reclaiming criminals who had fled to this asylum. But the Mairs in their mountain fastnesses laughed their invaders to scorn; and although a village might now and then be burnt and a few of the weakest might be killed, yet they never suffered any material injury or permanent subjugation: and it seemed

that they might have taken up the language of the Scottish clans, to whom we have endeavoured to shew that they did *not* bear so striking a resemblance as our author supposes ;—

Let them hunt us with hounds, and pursue us with beagles,  
Give our roofs to the flames and our flesh to the eagles ;  
While there's leaves in the forest or foam on the river,  
Macgregor despite them shall flourish for ever.

And so, in all human probability, it would have been, had not other antagonists been brought into the field against them than the neighbouring Rajput tribes. In contending with these tribes, it was bravery against bravery. The Mairs were as brave as their opponents, and had the inestimable advantage of situation on their side. They could not therefore have been subdued. It was a different case altogether, when British discipline was arrayed against them.

It was about 1819 or 1820, that the spread of our conquests brought us into close neighbourhood with the Mairs ; and we did not more than half like their ways. Various little expeditions were sent against them ; some of their villages were burnt, and some of their forts were levelled. A treaty was entered into, the breach of which gave us good reason for setting in earnest about the subjugation of the province. The expedition, under the command of Colonel Maxwell, was crowned with complete success ; in the course of three months, the marauders were entirely subdued, and, during the thirty years that have elapsed since 1821, they have given no disturbance to their neighbours, but have been the more or less willing subjects of that experiment, which it is the object of the work before us to detail.

The experiment in question was commenced under the auspices of Colonel Hall, who seems to have succeeded very soon in breaking the neck of some of the more glaringly barbarous customs that had prevailed amongst the Mairs. This will appear from the following extract from a report by that officer, of date the 31st July, 1827 :—

Para. 5.—It is most satisfactory to be able to report the complete and voluntary abolition of the two revolting customs—female infanticide and the sale of women. Both crimes were closely connected, having had their origin in the heavy expense attending marriage contracts. The sums were payable by the male side, were unalterable, equal for the rich and poor, without any abatement whatever in favour of the latter. What first established the payment is unknown ; but it was so sacred, inviolable, and even a partial deviation so disgraceful, that the most necessities of the tribe would not incur the imputation.

6. Hence arose as decided a right over the persons of women as over cattle or other property. They were inherited and disposed of accordingly, to the extent even of sons selling their own mothers.

7. Hence also arose infanticide. The sums payable were beyond the means of many, that daughters necessarily remained on hand after maturity, entailed im-

moral [immortal ?] disgrace, and thus entailed a necessity for all female progeny becoming victims to their family honour.

8. On the establishment of British rule, both evils gradually diminished. Females were not allowed to be transferred except for conjugal purposes; their consent was to be obtained, and their choice consulted; kind, humane treatment was enforced, and the whole system of considering them as mere cattle was discouraged, without any indication however of interference with the right of property so long existing.

9. Female infanticide was at once prohibited; and though many, no doubt, still fell secret sacrifices, from the great facility of undetected destruction, yet the danger, aided by improved feeling, encreased the survivors so considerably, as to force upon the Mairs a dire sense of the root of the evil, and a general wish for its removal, by a reduction of the regulated sum of contract; but they were averse, indeed declared their inability, to alter the long-established sacred custom themselves, and earnestly entreated it might be effected by an order of authority, binding all to obedience by heavy penalties. This was promised in a general way, in case of necessity; but as there were many points to be settled, and it was desirable to ascertain the general feeling with accuracy, as well as to avoid interference, if possible, a general panchayat was strongly urged, either to decide the matter, or, at all events, aid in the framing of appropriate regulations.

10. After the lapse of a few months allowed for consideration, the whole was settled in public panchayat, and its resolutions were confirmed, without the slightest alteration; so that the proceedings originated with, and have been carried through by, the inhabitants themselves; nor has there been a single petition against it, either pending, or subsequent to, adjustment.

11. They have lowered the sum payable on marriage contracts, abolished all right of subsequent sale, and fixed a year's imprisonment, or 200 rupees fine, with exclusion from caste, as the punishment for deviation.

If we did not feel the necessity of hurrying on, we should gladly loiter for a little space, and moralize over this extract. We do not remember to have met with so consistent a carrying out of the principle involved in the purchase of wives, as is implied in the vesting of the property thus acquired in the son, as the natural heir of his father, and the consequent right inherent in the son to sell his own mother! We see also the innate and apparently ineradicable tendency of the Asiatic mind to look to and lean upon the Government in all things. Perhaps this feeling attains its culminating point in Bengal; but it exists all over the East. The idea never seems to have struck these Mairs, who a few years before had no Government at all, that they could do any thing in the matter, unless the Government compelled them. The result of the measure furnishes a good illustration of the demand and supply principle, or at least of a very moderate "protection." Formerly, when wives were subject to a prohibitory duty, the great majority of the people could not indulge in the luxury, and consequently the article was a drug in the market, and had to be destroyed:—now, however, when the price is lowered to 153 rupees, the "consuming class" is so greatly extended, that the demand is equal to the supply: it is found to be a good thing to have a large stock of this once unmarketable commodity. Small profits and a ready sale are found to

be, in this case as in others, the soul of business. After all, this whole matter does not furnish a very exalted view of the dignity of our nature; such things could scarcely have been done, had humanity been precisely such as some choose to represent it. Our pages have already been the vehicle of a full discussion of the whole question of female infanticide, its causes, and the manner in which its abolition has been effected by British influence and authority judiciously applied. We shall not therefore enter upon the matter here, but content ourselves with the expression of the feeling of gratitude and honest pride, that must be shared by every Briton, in contemplation of the fact, that, wherever the influence of our nation extends, infanticide and other such barbarities give way before it.

One very important instrumentality in effecting the civilization of this district was the formation of a local corps. Perhaps Colonel Dixon somewhat over-estimates the influence of this step; but there can be no doubt that its influence has been very considerable. The good effects that are considered to have resulted are thus briefly summed up by Colonel Hall:—"The corps has contributed materially towards reforming the Mair population. The regularity of conduct, punctual discharge of duty, cleanliness and unqualified submission required; the good faith observed in all transactions; the congenial subsistence offered to many; the full confidence reposed, and the kind treatment shewn, could not fail of conciliatory effect; besides, on the other hand, its being a body for coercion, which, the population must have been well convinced, was fully qualified, from bravery, fidelity and local knowledge, to inflict ample punishment, should the necessity be imposed."

We fear many of our readers will be astonished at the idea of improving young men by converting them into soldiers, and of improving the inhabitants of a district by stationing soldiers among them. We fear it is a fact that this is not the result of converting our English peasantry into soldiers, or the effect of quartering an English regiment in the midst of an English district. Is this because the standard of military *morale* is below that of the English peasantry, and above that of the Mairs, so that the former must be depressed, and the latter elevated, in order to reach it? This would be a comparatively satisfactory view of the matter; but we fear that it is not admissible to such an extent as to account for the whole phenomena. But if it were so, it would only shew that there is no reason why the *morale* of the ranks of an army should be lower than that of the people; and the fact, that in the ranks of the British army it

is admitted to be lower than in the ranks of the British people, indicates that there is something greatly wrong in the method of enlistment and in the discipline of the British army. It is very far from our wish to deny that there are, in all ranks of that army, men possessed of every good and noble quality; but it is impossible to shut our eyes to the fact that far greater numbers are possessed of no good quality at all *as men*. Doubtless a considerable improvement has been effected since the days when Cowper described the influence of militia-soldiering on an agricultural population; but we fear that the picture which he draws is but too like to what occurs in numberless cases every year;—

The clown, the child of nature, without guile,  
 Blessed with an infant's ignorance of all,  
 But his own simple pleasures; now and then  
 A wrestling match, a foot-race, or a fair;  
 Is balloted, and trembles at the news:  
 Sheepish he doffs his hat, and mumbling swears  
 A bible-oath to be whate'er they please,  
 To do he knows not what. The task performed,  
 That instant he becomes the sergeant's care,  
 His pupil, and his torment and his jest.  
 His awkward gait, his introverted toes,  
 Bent knees, round shoulders, and dejected looks,  
 Procure him many a curse. By slow degrees,  
 Unapt to learn and formed of stubborn stuff,  
 He yet, by slow degrees, puts off himself,  
 Grows conscious of a change, and likes it well:  
 He stands erect; his slouch becomes a walk;  
 He steps right onward, martial in his air,  
 His form and movement; is as smart above  
 As meal and larded locks can make him; wears  
 His hat, or his plumed helmet, with a grace;  
 And, his three years of soldiership expired,  
 Returns indignant to the slighted plough.  
 He hates the field in which no fife or drum  
 Attends him; drives his cattle to a march;  
 And sighs for the smart comrades he has left.  
 'Twere well if his exterior change were all;—  
 But, with his clumsy port, the wretch has lost  
 His ignorance and harmless manners too.  
 To swear, to game, to drink; to shew at home  
 By lewdness, idleness, and sabbath-breach,  
 The great proficiency he made abroad;  
 To astonish and to grieve his gazing friends;  
 To break some maiden's and his mother's heart;  
 To be a pest where he was useful once,—  
 Are his sole aim, and all his glory, now.

This, we fear, is but too faithful a picture even of things as they are to this day in our regular army. And grievously is it to be lamented that such a state of things should continue. Now it is different with our sepoy regiments in India. These men, on becoming soldiers, do not cease to be men. They retain, to a far greater extent than our British soldiers do, their con-

nexion with their families and with their native districts, and are less thrown loose from the social restraints of family and neighbourhood. Surely something might be done to raise our army in public estimation, to make employment in it the object of desire to respectable industrious men, instead of its being the last resource of the idle and the dissipated, the last step in the downward career of profligacy and dissipation. We should be more glad than we can express, could we be convinced that the idea, we entertain on this point, is not correct; but if it be correct, surely it behoves the nation to set resolutely about the device and the application of a remedy. It is not impossible that good hints might be derived from the history of our Indian native army, and of the irregular local battalions, that constitute no unimportant element of that army. There can be no doubt that the Mairwara battalion has proved a school in which the Mairs have learned industry and regularity; and that the discharged soldiers have returned to their villages to set an example to their neighbours, and to diffuse such a feeling of respect for the service, as to secure the enlistment of the most active and respectable of the people. Nor have the direct services of the corps been of little avail in preserving the peace, and in breaking up bands of depredators.

The principal steps, however, that have been achieved in the march of civilization, relate to the administration of justice, and the improvement of agriculture. The transition from

“ The good old rule, the simple plan,  
That he shall take who has the power,  
While they shall keep who can ”—

to the regular administration of even-handed justice, and the protection, by the power of the whole, of the right of each individual, may be regarded as the most important step in the progress of a people from barbarism to humanity. We believe it might be demonstrated that no nation ever yet effected this substitution of law, the force of the whole, for violence, the force of the few, by the mere development of principles *ab intra*; external aid has ever been necessary; and that aid has generally, though not always, been afforded by conquerors to the vanquished. The usual crimes that prevailed amongst this people before their subjugation, and their rude attempts at the administration of justice, were similar to the crimes and the punishments that have prevailed among all nations in a like state of advancement. These are briefly but clearly described in the following passage:—

Before entering on a detail of the agricultural improvements, which for some years past have been progressing so rapidly and systematically throughout the Mairwara tract, it is proper to take a cursory review of the mode in which justice was

administered by this wild people. \* \* \* Prior to their subjugation, the sword too frequently decided disputes and repaid injuries. Every man stood on his own strength, or that of his kindred. The most prolific course of quarrel was the abduction of women of one clan by people belonging to another, or on account of a breach of promise of marriage. In the former case, the whole clan, and all that were on friendly terms with it, would espouse the quarrel as their own. Serious encounters would occasionally take place, and, as loss of life ensued, feuds were generated, which were handed down to posterity as an heir-loom. Another mode in adoption with them, where the sword was not chosen as the arbiter, was recourse to "Dij," a species of ordeal to which the culprit was submitted. This consisted in thrusting the naked hand into a vessel filled with boiling oil, or in taking up a red-hot shot with the hand. Superstition, with its false philosophy, had taught them that innocence would protect the culprit from injury from scalding oil, or from burning-hot iron. That this ordeal was ever put to trial, no proof exists; although the people have frequently been pressed to shew one solitary instance of its use. Still, in the virtue of this remedy, as a test for guilt or innocence, all hold a firm belief. Although they have been told of the fallacy of this doctrine, and that neither innocence nor any human agency can prevent flesh from burning when brought into contact with fire, still they cling to the belief of their forefathers, and consider the Dij the only true and impartial mode of arbitrament. This superstition, like that of witchcraft, will lose its hold on the minds of the people, as education spreads its influence, and they commence thinking for themselves.

Another mode of observance, in view to satisfy claimants, was to place money or property within a temple, or other holy spot, where the individual concerned would help himself as far as his conscience sanctioned. On some occasions the dispute was decided by one or other party taking an oath, under the provision that, were the swearing party to suffer any misfortune, by death in his family, or loss of cattle or property, within a stated number of days, his oath was null and void, and his case lost. These were the common modes observed in the administration of justice. Panchayat may, on some occasions, have been employed; but it was rarely resorted to, from the circumstance of there being no means, in the person of superior authority, to enforce its decision.

It is not surprising that the religious instinct, without the enlightenment and guidance which revelation alone supplies in sufficient measure, should have led all nations to believe in ordeals.

\*  
If there's a power above us—(and that there is, all nature cries aloud  
Through all her works)—he must delight in virtue;  
And that which he delights in must be happy.

It is the natural and sound conclusion, which men in all ages and in all countries, have arrived at; and it is not surprising that in their ignorance they should have imagined that the supreme power must indicate his delight in virtue, and confer happiness upon the virtuous and punishment upon the vicious, in some definite form of man's prescription, as by rendering the one insensible to pain, and leaving the other susceptible of its utmost intensity. It required a Divine teacher to unfold that sublime philosophy, in virtue of which, as Lord Bacon tersely expresses it, "Prosperity is the blessing of the Old Testament," as of an inferior and comparatively carnal dispensation, "but adversity is the blessing of the New." It is therefore not at all surprising, that the trial by ordeal should have found a place in the cri-



minal code of every nation at a certain stage of its progress ;\* but it certainly does excite wonder, that in respect of one particular crime, the ordinary form of ordeal should have been completely reversed, as it seems to have been, by every nation on the earth, excepting that one which received its laws direct from heaven. The idea of the ordeal in ordinary cases is, that the innocent will escape, and the guilty be at once detected and punished. But in the case of witchcraft, it seems to have been uniformly the practice of men to subject the accused to an ordeal, whose idea was, that the guilty should be detected by his freedom from punishment, and the innocent vindicated by his *suffering the punishment in its full force*. In our own country this was done in many ways, but, especially, by throwing the suspected person into a pool of water, with the conviction that if she were innocent, she would be drowned, and that, if she were guilty, she would float, and be brought out for punishment. The same principle was adopted by the Mairs. "The Mairs" (says our author) "were wont to entertain the fullest belief in witchcraft. A woman suspected of exercising this power was submitted to the ordeal of having red pepper applied to her eyes. On this application exciting acute pain, she was considered as guiltless of the accusation, otherwise she was a witch."

We must give at length the account of the introduction of trial by Panchayat, as it contains many points of peculiar interest:—

With ourselves, a recourse to this expedient (the Panchayat), has been attended with the most satisfactory results. In all cases having reference to the abduction of women, breach of promise of marriage, claim to land, settlement of boundary disputes, minor cases of foudrares ;—in a word, in all matters of complaints of wrong sustained or injury done, with exception of higher cases of crime, the Panchayat is the chief instrument employed in the distribution of justice among this primitive people.

\* It may be deemed by some to be not a little remarkable that the ordeal was allowed in the Jewish code in only one special case. (See Numb. V.) Into that code it was introduced by Divine appointment, and therefore was altogether free from the objection to which it is liable in every other case. The objection to it in these cases is simply, that God has never said that He will make manifest the innocent and the guilty respectively by the different effects that the ordeal shall produce upon them; and therefore men have no right to dictate to Him, and assume that he will do so. Under the Jewish dispensation, however, he did promise that he would thus distinguish between the innocent and the guilty. The commentators on the laws of Moses do not appear to have noticed a distinction, that seems to us very worthy of notice, between the ordeal as employed by the Gentile nations, and the ordeal prescribed to the Jews. The former seem to have invariably consisted in subjecting the suspected person to trials, the *natural* effect of which would be death or other severe injury, on the assumption that innocence would be manifested by a special interposition of the deity. The "water of jealousy," on the other hand, was *naturally* harmless, and only made harmful by a special interposition of the deity for the detection of the guilty. This strikes us as a very remarkable indication of the comparatively mild genius of the Mosaic code, which we believe can only be accounted for by reference to its divine origin. Granting that either system would equally inspire the guilty with terror, it is unnecessary to point out with how much confidence the one system, and with how much natural fear the other, must have inspired the innocent.

The following is the ordinary course of procedure :—the complainant presents a written petition in Urdu, in which is [are] embodied the particulars of his grievance. At the close of his complaint, he expresses his willingness, or otherwise, to have his case settled by Panchayat. An order is then passed for the attendance of the defendant. On his appearing, the complaint is explained to him, when he delivers in a counter statement, signifying, at the same time, by what mode he wishes to be tried. Should each party desire a Panchayat, each names his respective arbitrators ; the number of whom is alone limited by the pleasure of the contending parties. Sometimes the jury consists of twelve members on each side. Generally speaking, on the score of economy, each side restricts its quota to three or four members. Objections to members, on account of nearness of kin, or on other reasonable grounds, are allowed, and substitutes are named to supply the place of those challenged and rejected. The complainant and defendant then enter into engagements to abide by the decision of the Panchayat, except in case of disapproval, by paying a stated fine to the Government, where a new trial is allowed. In like manner the arbitrators bind themselves by engagements to do strict and impartial justice in the case submitted to their decision ; in failure thereof, a stated sum is forfeited. All preliminaries having been arranged, the case comes under investigation. Each party finds its arbitrators in food, which varies in quality according to the means of the parties. On the decision of the case, the expense devolves on the losing side. As the Elders are chiefly selected, from their respectability and inferred knowledge of right, for this duty, delay in coming to a decision is not unusual ; influenced, perhaps, by the circumstance, that they are found in food whilst engaged in such investigations. Feelings of pride, and the imagined honor of their clan, more frequently induce delay, where matters between two opposite septes are under discussion. Panchayats have taken a month or five weeks to consider the questions at issue. Having at length come to a decision, their opinion, recorded in writing, is read and explained to the complainant and defendant, who approve or disapprove of the decree of the Panch, according as their feelings prompt them. The decision, generally speaking, is unanimous. When otherwise, the opinion of three-fourths of the members is necessary to make their decree binding. Although dissentients are at liberty, on paying the stipulated fine, regulated with reference to the largeness of the case at issue, to demand a fresh trial, this privilege is rarely claimed. The Mairs, when allowed time for consideration, are open to reason ; and they well know, when there is a large majority opposed to them, cogent reasons exist for this decision ; the more particularly as their own arbitrators, or a portion of them, have so decided the case. The superintendent will generally know where the decision of a Panch is not consonant with the usages of the people. His explanation is received willingly by the arbitrators, when any deviation from common usage is pointed out to them. In this way, by observing temperate conciliatory turn towards the jury, a slight modification of their decree, not unfrequently, has the desirable effect of bringing round a Razinamah on both sides.

By constituting the Panchayat the tribunal to which complaints are submitted for enquiry and decision, several important advantages are attained. The defendants are tried by their own peers ; and thus the administration of justice is virtually placed in the hands of the elders, subject, of course, to modification and improvement by the superintendent. Parties, who are dissatisfied, are aware, their cases have been decided by their friends and clansmen, and that, amongst themselves, there is no tribunal whose decree is more to be respected or more binding, than that of their own brethren in caste. Against the ruling authorities no grounds of displeasure can exist ; for all they have to do in the case is to satisfy themselves that matters are conducted with regularity, temper, and justice. It is a strong argument in favor of this system of dispensing justice, that, during the last twenty-six years, the period of our rule in Mairwara, no appeal has been made beyond the superintendent of the district.

A critical eye, and especially a lawyer's, will see at a glance that the system thus detailed is far from being theoretically perfect ; but it is admirably adapted to the condition of the people among whom it is established ; and its working shews

that a better system could not have been devised. And although some may be in horror at the idea of a people, who have no counsel, no retainers, no demurrers, no rules Nisi, no chancery cases or suits in equity, dragging their slow length through tedious years of harrowing uncertainty and accumulating fees—we think, for our own part, it may be possible for people, who have not yet attained a taste for the luxuries of litigation, to exist in a country, where a lawsuit is never protracted beyond a month or five weeks. Their pleasures may be less exquisite than those of their more refined neighbours, but they are suited to their capacities.

At the risk of being charged with a Gothic disregard of time-honored institutions, and with setting at nought “the wisdom of our ancestors,” we must be allowed to express our cordial approval of that part of the system which does not make absolute unanimity in the Panchayat essential to the pronouncing of a verdict. Independently of the heresy of not preferring things as they are to things as they might by any possibility be, we are aware, that in stating the opinion, that the system adopted in the Mairwara code is better than that of the English system, we run counter to the opinion of some very high authorities, who vindicate the latter system on abstract principles, as the best system in itself, without reference to its being or not being the rule existing in any particular country. Of those authorities, one of the highest is M. Arago, who some years ago made use of an argument on this subject which we may be allowed to quote, as the subject, though incidentally introduced at present, is so important as to warrant a digression. “If a verdict is ‘resolved on’ (says M. Arago) “by ten men out of twelve, there ‘is a greater probability that it will be a correct verdict, than ‘if it had been pronounced by seven out of twelve. The degree ‘of certainty of a judgment is in direct proportion to the ‘number of judges who have delivered it. If you take the hypothesis that the verdict of a jury be decided by a majority of seven against five, as this bill proposes, you will find the result of your calculation to be a fearful one—the chances of error, in such a case, are in the proportion of one to four. I cannot go through all the calculations before you; but I assure you they were formed in the most conscientious manner, on mathematical principles, and they are supported by the authority of Condorcet, Condillac, Laplace, and all who are versed in the science of calculating probabilities. But let us admit that the jury’s error may be as often in favour of the prisoner as against him, so that instead of the proportion of one to four, let us suppose that the probability of error to

‘ his prejudice, if the absolute majority be seven against five, ‘ is one to eight, or even one to ten. We shall then have it ‘ rigorously and mathematically demonstrated, that, *among the ‘ men led to execution, there is one in ten who is innocent.*”

We shrink from the idea of dissenting, in a mathematical question, from the decision of M. Arago, even although he were not backed, as he says he is, by Condorcet, Condillac, Laplace, and all other investigators of the doctrines of probability. But indeed the mathematical part is all right enough. It is the assumption, on which the mathematics are brought to bear, that we believe to be erroneous. The assumption is that each member of the jury is equally likely to form a right or a wrong judgment. This granted, it will follow, just as M. Arago says, that the chances are as one to four, that a judgment pronounced by seven votes against five will be erroneous. But this, we venture to assert, no one will be disposed to grant, who considers that it is not upon opinions, but upon facts, that juries are required to pronounce. The question being put to a body of intelligent men, whether this man did this thing, we cannot hesitate to say that the probabilities are vastly in favour of their giving a correct answer when clear evidence is brought before them. Now suppose the probability of each man being in error to be one in 10, then the chance of an erroneous verdict, delivered by 7 votes against 5, will be only one in 100, and the chance of a man being unjustly condemned will be one in 200. “Tell me,” (says Dr. Lardner, in reference to this ‘ very question), “how many times per cent. a given man will be ‘ wrong in his judgment, and I can tell you exactly, positively, ‘ and mathematically, how much more likely a unanimous jury ‘ (not starved) is to have arrived at a true decision, than another ‘ in which the voices are 8 to 4. But that does not put me one ‘ step nearer to ascertaining what *is* the per-centage of erroneous ‘ conclusions in the judgments of a single individual.” Clearly not;—and we are convinced that we are far nearer the mark in assuming 10 per cent. than M. Arago in assuming 50 per cent., as the proportion of erroneous conclusions by individuals of ordinary intelligence as to matters of fact. But the glaring fallacy of M. Arago’s argument consists in his tacitly assuming that a jury, which *can* arrive at a verdict where seven of its members are of one opinion and the other five of the contrary opinion, *will* always return its verdicts on such a bare majority.\*

\* Since this was written, we have consulted the elaborate article on Probability by Mr. Galloway, in the seventh edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and are glad to find that the result of calculation founded on the best data does not—very widely differ from the supposition that we have made. The general result is, that “out of 119 verdicts, respecting which we know nothing else than that seven at least of the jury concurred in finding the accused guilty, we may expect one to be wrong; or that one person out of 119, so condemned, will be innocent.”

The detective and punitive systems adopted in Mairwara seem equally simple and judicious with the judicial system. Every man is his own thief-detector.

A person having lost his bullocks or buffaloes, proceeds from village to village in quest of information, having slung a "hunsli," that is, a collar of silver, about his neck. As this ornament is only worn by women, the fact of its being slung round the neck of a man indicates at once that he has lost some property, and has come in search of information regarding it; he then proceeds to offer the hunsli, or a pecuniary reward, to any one who will discover the offender, and point out the cattle or property. Travelling thus from village to village, his trouble is at length repaid by some of the acquaintances of the culprit, or occasionally one of the culprits, coming forward as an informer. The owner goes to the place indicated, and, in the instance of cattle, he strokes them down the back, in virtue [token ?] of recognition; or, in the case of other property, he makes known his right to it to the head of the village. Provided with full information, he proceeds to the nearest Thana, and has the particulars of the story embodied in a petition to be sent up to the authorities. In the meantime the police proceed to the apprehension of the delinquents, who, with the stolen cattle or property and plaintiff, are at once forwarded to the superintendent. The informer is rarely or ever [never] confronted with the delinquent: nor is this requisite; for he knows the particulars of the robbery have been fully disclosed, and that denial, involving the trouble of proof, would enhance his punishment. Hence he finds it more to his advantage to confess to what he has done. Through this system of purchasing information, many robberies are brought to light, which, in its absence, would remain secret. The offenders are made to bear the whole expense incurred in bringing the robbery home to them.

The system of punishment adopted seems to be a happy combination of fine and imprisonment. The prisoners are required to work. An account current is opened with them, in which all their food, clothes and blankets are entered to their debit, and they are obliged to enter into engagements to defray the charge, as well as to make restitution of the value of the property stolen, by payments from year to year after their release from durance. Altogether, the system seems well adapted to the state and condition of the people, and therefore good. It would be altogether inapplicable to a different state of society; and will, doubtless, require modifications as the people, amongst whom it is established, advance in refinement, and the crimes committed by them become more complicated, and the interests to be protected more involved.

It is evidently to the plough, however, that Colonel Dixon looks as the great civilizer. It appears that the jurisprudence was mainly the work of his predecessor, Colonel Hall. Colonel Dixon, however, is entitled to a degree of credit merely inferior to that belonging to the originator of a good system; forasmuch as he has not innovated upon the system introduced by his predecessor. He found it with many theoretical defects, which, although he gives no hint to that effect, we doubt not he must have perceived. Still he found that, *if well administered*, it was capable of working well; and instead of setting himself to alter and destroy, he lent himself cordially to the administration. We know not whether the man who

thus acts, does not even deserve more credit than he who originates the system. But the agricultural improvement is entirely our author's own; and we fully sympathize with the enthusiasm with which he describes it. Cold and soul-less critics, who have never done any good themselves, will charge our author with egotism and self-glorification; but no one, who knows the feelings of the man who has been enabled to do any good, will take up with such a censure. We cannot follow our author through the details of his operation. They are very interesting, even to those who have no special connexion with agricultural affairs; and will be invaluable to all, who may at any future period have occasion to conduct similar operations. The great desideratum was a system of water-works, which should make cultivation possible. Till a few years ago the cultivation was so difficult and the result so precarious, that the people cared not for the ownership of the land. But now by means of tanks, wells, and embankments, a large tract of country has been reclaimed from jungle, and a large population has been converted from professional robbers into industrious farmers. This has been effected by the people themselves, stimulated by a judicious system of Government advances. We repeat that the whole details of this experiment, from its beginning to its result, are in the highest degree interesting; and it is only because we could not but do injustice to them by such an abridgment of them as alone our space would admit of, that we do not attempt any account of them. If a blessing is attached to the making of two blades of grass to spring up where only one sprang up before, surely all future generations of the Mairs will venerate and bless the name of Colonel Dixon, who is—in the expressive idiom of the land in which we sojourn—emphatically the *Kartá* of their country.

We shall not enter into the financial results of those operations; but shall content ourselves with stating, in the words of our author, that “during the last eleven years, the sums expended on works of irrigation amount to 2,41,112 *Rs.* 7 *As.* 11½ *Pie*; while, during that period, the excess of revenue beyond the Jumma of the first year of the present incumbent's superintendence in 1835-36, is 6,41,234 *Rs.* 5 *As.* 6½ *Pie*. After reimbursing ourselves for the outlay on public works, there is a surplus given of 4,00,121 *Rs.* 13 *As.* 6½ *Pie*. This large amount is our gain in a pecuniary point of view. As far as affects the moral improvement of the people, the advantages are beyond calculation.”

We have called Colonel Dixon the “maker” of the country of Mairwara, and although we have high authority for placing the maker of a country infinitely above the maker of a town, it is well to state that he did not disdain this inferior em-

ployment. He soon found that various advantages would result from the establishment of a city in the midst of his Arcadia. And a city he determined to erect. Having obtained the Government sanction, he invited *mahajans*, or merchants, from the neighbouring states; and his character, and that of the Government which he represented, were now so well established, that the invitation was frankly accepted. The town was regularly planned out. Houses were built with stones and lime (abundance of which was found in the district), and roofed with slabs of gneiss. In the course of a very few months the town was built, and occupied by a busy population. Nor was it built in a straggling or "miscellaneous" manner. Every house was set down according to order, and the city of Nya Naggar will stand the test of comparison with any city in the world for neatness and taste. It has of course no fine buildings—no palace—no cathedral—no university—no theatres—no galleries,—no monumental columns;—but it has broad clean streets; it has well-placed and well-built houses; if it has no palace, it has no gin-palaces—if it has no cathedral, it has no gambling-houses—if it has no university, it has no brothels. The poet, in describing the golden age, tells us that in those days

*Nondum præcípites cingebant oppida fossæ.*

We will not stop to enquire whether this means that there were no towns in those days, or that the towns existed, but were not surrounded by deep ditches. We might introduce a very pretty piece of criticism on this point, but we forbear. Suffice it to say that Nya Naggar, not being built on the Saturnian model, and being built moreover by an Artillery officer, is surrounded, not indeed by a deep ditch, but by a high substantial pukka wall. The reasons that induced this erection are stated as follows: "The construction of a wall of masonry round the town would be attended with many advantages. Its presence would impart confidence to the residents. It would protect the inhabitants from any sudden attack on the part of dacoits, and it would prevent the abstraction of cattle on the part of the Mairs, or that of the Boaris, a class of hereditary thieves, who resided in the border towns and villages, and received protection from the chiefs by paying them one-fourth of their earnings. All circumstances advocated the measure." The wall was erected at a cost of about Rupees 24,000. It consists of "a rampart with parapet defended by thirty-two massive bastions. The rampart has a breadth of six, and the bastions of twelve feet. The parapet rises in height above the rampart seven feet, having a thickness of from two to three feet. The curtain walls, exclusive of foundation, have an elevation above the terre-plein of the

'country of seventeen feet, while the bastions are twenty-one feet in height." It is built of stone and mud internally, and with stone and lime externally, and covered with a coating of marble chunam. "The work is strong, and is calculated to last, with common attention, through an indefinite number of years"—or until, as we anticipate will be the fact, it be superseded by one of enlarged circuit. Within this wall there reside 1,955 families, who carry on various commercial and manufacturing operations.

We have thus briefly sketched the main operations that have been going on in Mairwara. When so much good has been done, it might seem ungracious to allude to what has not been done. But we must express our conviction that the educational department has not received that amount of attention to which its importance entitles it. That so enlightened a man as Col. Dixon should be indifferent to this object is impossible; and under his auspices, at the special recommendation of the Lieutenant-Governor of the North Western Provinces, a beginning has been made. But when we state that the city of Nya Naggar only furnishes 118 scholars out of its 1,955 families, and that these scholars are scattered over 12 schools—which must, therefore, of necessity, be of very inferior quality—it will be admitted, we think, that we have good grounds for entertaining the belief, that the same amount of energy has not been brought to bear upon this part of the experiment that has produced such noble results in the other departments. If we were to impute any blame to Colonel Dixon on this score, he might well adopt the Themistoclean defence; *I cannot fiddle, but I can convert a small state into a great nation.* And the plea is a good one. But although it were folly to expect that Colonel Dixon can do more for an educational scheme than aid it by his countenance and his advice, we are convinced that his work will not be complete until a vigorous effort be made for the introduction of such a scheme on an adequate scale, and under the superintendence of a man capable of doing justice to the experiment. It will not do to say that the time has not come for this. In fact the time never comes for any good work, until the man rises up to accomplish it; and when the man comes, he makes the time for his own purpose. The time had just as little come for cultivating the fields of Mairwara, as it had come for cultivating the minds of the cultivators. Had Colonel Dixon waited until the time came, he would have waited for ever. *Now* is the time, the proper time for every good work. Even if we were to admit, which we by no means do, that the time had not come a few years ago, we must maintain that now at least the period has arrived, when a vigorous effort could not fail to be crowned with success.



Without entering upon the much-agitated question as to the duty of the Government to instruct their subjects in the doctrines and principles of true religion, we must be allowed to express our conviction, that, amongst a people whose own religion sits so lightly upon them as that of the Mairs evidently sits on them, there could be no reasonable objection to the introduction of a Christian system of education, similar to that which obtains in the lower class of Missionary schools in this country; and that this is the system most suited to the wants and the circumstances of the people. If such a system were introduced, under the direction of a man of good sense and tireless zeal—an educational Colonel Dixon—we are persuaded that in a very short time these mountain glens would participate in a still richer blessing than that which has already lighted upon them. Even the operations of agriculture would then be carried on with double alacrity, for they would be carried on by men of expanded minds and humanized hearts.

And now, in bringing this imperfect notice of a very interesting book to a close, we must express our gratification at the results of the operations detailed in it. The Government of the East India Company has many faults; but it has in it capabilities of producing great good to those whom Providence has subjected to its sway. Fully are we persuaded that it has been a great blessing to the Mairs—and, although not so visibly, yet not less really, to the people of this country generally—that they have been subjected to British rule, and brought under the influence of British sentiments, and led on in the path of improvement by British example. In proportion as this rule is administered with justice, and these sentiments are diffused with liberality, and this example is attractively set before the people, our connexion with the people of India will be a blessing to them and to ourselves.

One word more, and we have done. And that word shall be, we will not say in compliment to, but in well-merited commendation of, that distinguished body of men to whom Colonel Dixon belongs. It is a great fact that our Indian army is ever ready to supply men capable of carrying out every good measure that is ever projected. It seems as if it had within itself unlimited resources, a fund of undiscovered talent, which only requires a fair field in order to its development. It were not just to Colonel Dixon to suppose that he is no more than an average specimen of the Indian officers; but it were not just to the army to withhold the fact, that multitudes have been drawn from the ranks of that army and put into positions of great difficulty, and that they have almost invariably carried out the measures entrusted to their execution in such a way as fully to justify the wisdom of their selection.

ART. X.—*Wanderings of a Pilgrim in search of the Picturesque, during four-and-twenty years in the East, with Revelations of Life in the Zenána.* By Fanny Parks. Illustrated with sketches from nature. 2 vols., large 8vo. London. Pelham Richardson. 1850.

MRS. FANNY PARKS has written a very charming work on India. She is not one of those, who can "travel from Dan to Beersheba, and find all barren." Her journal extends over the long period of twenty-four years, and her travels very rarely deviate from the beaten track; yet the liveliness and freshness of the narrative are kept up to the last page; and after reading her two ponderous volumes, without skipping or any other compromise with our conscience, our relish remains unabated, and we are quite ready to enter upon a couple of volumes more. For, in the first place, it is a very pretty book; and where is the critic, who has not an amiable weakness for a luxurious type, a broad margin, sketches faithful to nature, or rich with gorgeous colouring, and covers flaming with scarlet and gold? But it is not merely a pretty book to grace the drawing-room or the boudoir, and to have its pages turned over by idle gentlemen or idler ladies, when they are at a loss for any thing better to do. Mrs. Parks is a very clever, and a very eccentric (and we have no doubt a very pretty) lady; and her entertaining pages call up before one the scenes or the people she describes, with all the truth and fidelity of the Daguerreotype. Much of her book too, even to Indian readers, is as novel as it is life-like; and gives us glimpses into the highest classes of native female society, and into scenes for the most part strictly *tabooed* to the foot of the European. We have need therefore for "*robur et æs triplex circa pectus*," when we commence by finding fault—grave fault, and not slightly to be passed over—with this very lively and entertaining work.

[The journal of Mrs. Parks has many points of resemblance with the famous letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montague; and we cannot help fancying that our "fair lady" was not altogether unaware of the fact, and has ingrafted upon her own, not a few of the more objectionable eccentricities of her witty, but not over-strait-laced, predecessor.] Mrs. Parks, however, is neither a wit, nor a genius: her descriptions are truth itself; but, when she steps out of her own natural and better self for the poor affectation of displaying her familiarity with the proverbs and superstitions of the natives, or of

repeating stories that other women would shrink from, her levity becomes profane, and her Amazonian tone coarse and indelicate. We would be fully justified in using harsher words than these : but we write these even with regret and reluctance.

The book commences with a touching and beautiful dedication to the memory of her mother ; which is immediately followed by an invocation to the Hindu idol, Ganesha, in the worst possible taste, and in a style that owes all its humour to its singularity. She affects a partiality for Krishna, and makes frequent allusions to the filthy stories of Radha and the Gopis ; she boasts of saluting the Hindu gods in their temples to the great admiration of the Brahmans ; and has rice and flowers offered to an idol in her own boat. It is a very poor excuse that no harm was intended—that it was done out of good nature, and recorded from a little of the ordinary vanity of author-ship. Idol-worship is a foul and hateful thing, and the curse and bane of this country ; and no Christian—and a lady least of all—has any more right to amuse himself or herself with playing at idolatry, than with playing at theft, or drunkenness, or murder, or any other deadly sin.

The flippancy and levity, also, with which she refers to her own faith, savour more of the cock-pit than the boudoir, and will, we trust, be all expunged from a second edition.

The most difficult part of our task yet remains, and we scarcely know how to set about it. Honesty, however, is the best policy ; so we shall speak plainly and give our reasons for so doing. The " Wanderings " are better adapted than any book we know to be a hand-book for this side of India. They are singularly attractive and elegant in appearance ; and, being written by a lady of acknowledged ability, and of name and standing in society, there is no book more likely to be selected as a gift for a sister, or a wife, or a daughter, or any other female friend or relative, on her first arrival in this country. Truth compels us to say, that, in its present state, and until it shall have passed through the hands of some judicious Bowdler, it is altogether unfit for such a purpose. She tells us of certain Hindustani songs, fortunately all but unintelligible to herself, which made the native gentleman, beside whom she was seated, look " very red in the face ; " and, there are stories, dialogues, and allusions in her own book, covered by no disguise, but in plain broad English, which would make any English gentleman—even her friend of the 16th Lancers—look " very red in the face," were he to be compelled to read them aloud in his own family circle. The " pilgrim " has lived so long away from her own land, that she appears to have forgotten the

dignity and delicacy of a woman in any grade of respectable English Society; for we cannot suppose that the kind of notoriety, won by such coarse and questionable expedients, could have any charm for a mind so gifted and accomplished.

In future editions (and there are likely to be many), we trust to see every thing undeniably indecent or profane carefully expunged from the work; and we shall then have no hesitation in recommending it as the most pleasant, truthful, and delightfully gossiping book, that has ever been written about India.

(Having thus discharged ourselves of a very painful and disagreeable duty, we proceed, without further comment, to gratify our readers with a few of the lady's pen-and-ink sketches and revelations.) It was a happy idea to bring out her work, as it was written, in the form of a journal. No other vehicle would have been so suitable to the light and sketchy touch of the "pilgrim;" and no other arrangement would have given so much of life, freshness, and never-ending variety.

We begin with a page or two from the more common-place details of her journal, as a specimen of the lively, dashing, discursive staple of the book. The year is 1830:—

2nd.—A friend just returned from the hills, brought down with him some forty Cashmere goats; the shawl goats, such as are found in the hills: they die very fast on quitting the cold regions; he has lost all but three females, which he has given to me; they will scarcely live in this burning Cawnpore.

Report says the Governor-General has put off his journey for a month longer; it is supposed he will, if possible, avoid this large military station; the soldiers are in so discontented a state, he may perchance receive a bullet on parade. The Privates here have several times attempted the lives of their officers, by shooting and cutting them down, sometimes upon the slightest cause of complaint, and often without having any to provoke such conduct.

7th.—I have just returned from calling on a friend of mine, and overheard the remarks of a gentleman, who was speaking of her to another; they amused me;

"Really that is a noble creature, she has a neck like an Arab, her head is so well set on!"

Buffaloes from Cawnpore swim off in the early morning in herds to the bank in the centre of the river, where they feed; they return in the evening of their own accord. The other evening I thought a shoal of porpoises were beneath the verandah—but they were buffaloes trying to find a landing-place; they swim so deeply, their black heads are only partly visible, and at a little distance they may easily be mistaken for porpoises.

Sometimes I see a native drive his cow into the river; when he wishes to cross it, he takes hold of the animal by the tail, and holding on, easily crosses over with her; sometimes he aids the cow by using one hand in swimming.

"What is that going down the river?" exclaimed a gentleman. On applying a telescope, we found fifty or sixty buffaloes all in a heap were

coming down with the stream, whilst ten natives swimming with them kept thrashing them with long bambus to make them exert themselves, and keep all together: the natives shouting and urging on the animals, and the buffaloes bellowing, at every blow they received. At what a rate they come down! the stream flows with such rapidity during the rains! This is the first time I have seen such a large herd driven in this curious fashion.

Methodism is gaining ground very fast in Cawnpore; young ladies sometimes profess to believe it highly incorrect to go to balls, plays, races, or to any party where it is possible there may be a quadrille. A number of the officers also profess these opinions, and set themselves up as New Lights.

9th.—I was remarking to an officer to-day, I thought it very unlikely any one would attempt the life of the Governor-General. He replied, "The danger is to be feared from the discharged sipahis, who are in a most turbulent and discontented state. Squadrons of them are gone over to Runjit Singh, who is most happy to receive well-disciplined troops into his service."

I have just learned how to tell the age of a stud-bred horse. All stud horses are marked on the flank, when they are one year old, with the first letter of the stud and the last figure of the year. Our little mare, Lachhmi, is marked K 0, therefore she was foaled at Kharuntadee in 1819 and marked in 1820—making her age now eleven years.

The Governor-General, here alluded to, was Lord William Bentinck, then in the very zenith, or rather in the very nadir, of unpopularity; but he managed to live it down; and, whatever may have been the feelings of the army towards him, no British ruler has higher claims on the gratitude and affection of the natives of Hindustan. They have reason to venerate his memory for many things; and for one—not the least—that such scenes, as the following, will never be witnessed again:—

#### THE SUTTEE.

A rich buniya, a corn chandler, whose house was near the gate of our grounds, departed this life. He was a Hindu. On the 7th of November, the natives in the bazar were making a great noise with their tom-toms, drums, and other discordant musical instruments, rejoicing that his widow had determined to perform suttī, i. e. to burn on his funeral-pile.

The magistrate sent for the woman, used every argument to dissuade her, and offered her money. Her only answer was, dashing her head on the floor, and saying, "If you will not let me burn with my husband, I will hang myself in your court of justice." The Shastras say, "The prayers and imprecations of a suttī are never uttered in vain; the great gods themselves cannot listen to them unmoved."

If a widow touch either food or water from the time her husband expires until she ascend the pile, she cannot, by Hindu law, be burned with the body; therefore the magistrate kept the corpse *forty-eight* hours, in the hope that hunger would compel the woman to eat. Guards were set over her, but she never touched any thing. My husband accompanied the magistrate to see the suttī: about 5,000 people were collected together on the banks of the Ganges: the pile was then built, and the putrid body placed upon it; the magistrate stationed guards to prevent the people from approaching it. After having bathed in the river, the widow lighted a brand, walking round the pile, set it on fire, and then mounted cheerfully: the flame caught

and blazed up instantly; she sat down, placing the head of the corpse on her lap, and repeated several times the usual form, "Ram Ram, suttī; Ram, Ram, suttī;" i. e. "God, God, I am chaste."

As the wind drove the fiercer fire upon her, she shook her arms and limbs as if in agony; at length she started up and approached the side to escape.

A Hindu, one of the police, who had been placed near the pile to see she had fair play and should not be burned by force, raised his sword to strike her; and the poor wretch shrank back into the flames. The magistrate seized and committed him to prison. The woman again approached the side of the blazing pile, sprang fairly out, and ran into the Ganges, which was within a few yards. When the crowd and the brothers of the dead man saw this, they called out, "Cut her down, knock her on the head with a bambu; tie her hands and feet, and throw her in again;" and rushed down to execute their murderous intentions, when the gentlemen and the police drove them back.

The woman drank some water, and, having extinguished the fire on her red garment, said she would mount the pile again and be burned.

The magistrate placed his hand on her shoulder (which rendered her impure), and said, "By your own law, having once quitted the pile you cannot ascend again; I forbid it. You are now an out-cast from the Hindus; but I will take charge of you, the Company will protect you, and you shall never want food or clothing."

He then sent her, in a palanquin, under a guard, to the hospital. The crowd made way, shrinking from her with signs of horror, but returned peaceably to their homes; the Hindus annoyed at her escape, and the Mussulmans saying, "It was better that she should escape; but it was a pity we should have lost the *tamasha* (amusement) of seeing her burnt to death."

Had not the magistrate and the English gentlemen been present, the Hindus would have cut her down when she attempted to quit the fire; or had she leapt out, would have thrown her in again, and have said, "She performed suttī of her own accord: how could we make her? it was the will of God." As a specimen of their religion, the woman said, "I have transmigrated six times, and have been burned six times with six different husbands; if I do not burn the seventh time, it will prove unlucky for me!" "What good will burning do you?" asked a by-stander. She replied, "The women of my husband's family have all been suttīs: why should I bring disgrace upon them? I shall go to heaven, and afterwards re-appear on earth, and be married to a very rich man." She was about twenty or twenty-five years of age, and possessed of some property, for the sake of which her relatives wished to put her out of the world.

If every suttī were conducted in this way, very few would take place in India. The woman was not much burned, with the exception of some parts on her arms and legs. Had she performed suttī, they would have raised a little cenotaph, or a mound of earth by the side of the river, and every Hindu, who passed the place returning from bathing, would have made salaam to it; a high honour to the family! While we were in Calcutta, many suttīs took place; but as they were generally on the other side of the river, we only heard of them after they had occurred. Here the people passed in procession, flags flying, and drums beating, close by our door. I saw them from the verandah: the widow, dressed in a red garment, was walking in the midst. My servants all ran to me, begging to be allowed to go and see the *tamasha* (fun, sport), and having obtained permission, they all started off, except one man who was pulling the punka; and he looked greatly vexed at being obliged to remain. The sahib said, the woman appeared

so perfectly determined, he did not think she would have quitted the fire. Having performed *sutti* according to her own account six times before, one would have thought from her miraculous incombustibility, she had become asbestos, only purified and not consumed by fire. I was glad the poor creature was not murdered; but she will be an out-cast; no Hindu will eat with her, enter her house, or give her assistance; and, when she appears, they will point at her and give her abuse. Her own, and her husband's family would lose caste if they were to speak to her: but, as an example, it will prevent a number of women from becoming *suttis*, and do infinite good: fortunately, she has no children. And these are the people called in Europe the "mild inoffensive Hindus!"

The woman was mistress of a good house and about 800 rupees; the brothers of her deceased husband would, after her destruction, have inherited the property.)

Thankful that this is the record of a barbarous superstition, which has received its death-blow, we turn from it with relief to accompany the lively lady to the fair at Allahabad. Here is a list of Indian articles, that might be transferred with great advantage to the illustrated catalogue of the "Crystal Palace" Exhibition:—

#### (THE GREAT FAIR AT ALLAHABAD.

1833, Jan.—The *burra mela* at Praya, or the great fair at Allahabad, is held annually on the sands of the Ganges below the ramparts of the Fort, extending from the Mahratta Bund to the extreme point of the sacred junction of the rivers. The booths extend the whole distance, composed of mud walls, covered with mats, or thatched. This fair lasts about two months, and attracts merchants from all parts of India,—Calcutta, Delhi, Lucknow, Jey-pore, &c. Very good diamonds, pearls, coral, shawls, cloth, woollens, China furs, &c., are to be purchased. Numerous booths display brass and copper vessels, glittering in the sun, with many brazen idols; others are filled with Benares toys for children. Bows and arrows are displayed; also native caps made of sable, the crowns of which are of the richest gold and silver embroidery.

The pearl merchants offer long strings of large pearls for sale, amongst which some few are fine, round, and of a good colour. The natives value size, but are not very particular as to colour; they do not care to have them perfectly round, and do not object to an uneven surface. They will allow a purchaser to select the best at pleasure from long strings.

The deep red coral is valued by the natives much more. I bought some very fine pink coral at the fair; the beads were immense; the price of the largest, eleven rupees per *tola*; i. e. eleven rupees for one rupee weight of coral. The smallest, six or four rupees per *tola*; it was remarkably fine. Some years afterwards, the Brijia Bai, a Mahratta lady, a friend of mine, called on me; she observed the long string of fine pink coral around my neck, and said, "I am astonished a *Mem-sahiba* should wear coral; we only decorate our horses with it; that is pink coral, the colour is not good; look at my horse." I went to the verandah; her horse was adorned with a necklace of fine deep red coral. She was quite right, and I made over mine to my grey steed.

Some of the prettiest things sold at the mela are the *tikas*, an ornament for the forehead for native women. The *tika* is of different sizes and patterns: in gold and silver for the wealthy, tinsel for the poorer classes; and of various shapes. The prettiest are of silver, a little hollow cup like

a dow-drop out in halves; the ornament is stuck with an adhesive mixture on the forehead, just in the centre between the eyebrows. Some tikas are larger, resembling the *ferroniere* worn by European ladies.

The Allahabad hukaks are famous for their imitation in glass of precious stones. I purchased a number of native ornaments in imitation of the jewellery worn by native ladies, which were remarkably well made, and cost only a few rupees. I also bought strings of mock pearls brought from China, that are scarcely to be distinguished from real pearls, either in colour or weight.

The toys the rich natives give their children, consisting of imitations of all sorts of animals, are remarkably pretty; they are made in silver, and enamelled; others are made of ivory very beautifully carved; and for the poorer classes they are of pewter, moulded into the most marvellous shapes.)

From the motley throng, that flocked to the holy fair, we select a portrait, the faithfulness of which (not without a touch of the characteristic handling of the artist) will be recognized by every Indian reader:—

#### RELIGIOUS MENDICANTS.

The most remarkable people at this mela are the religious mendicants: they assemble by hundreds, and live within enclosures fenced off by sticks, a little distance from the booths. These people are the monks of the East; there are two orders of them, the Gosains, or followers of Shivu, and the Byragies, disciples of Vettal. Any Mahomedan may become a fakir, and a Hindu of any caste, a religious mendicant. The ashes of cow-dung are considered purifying: these people are often rubbed over from head to foot with a washen mixture, and have a strange dirty white, or rather blue appearance. Ganges mud, cow-dung, and ashes of cow-dung, form, I believe, the delectable mixture.

The sectarian marks, or symbols, are painted on their faces according to the caste, with a red, yellow, white, or brown pigment, also on their breasts and arms. Their only covering is a bit of rag passed between the legs and tied round the waist by a cord or rope.

One man whom I saw this day at the mela was remarkably picturesque, and attracted my admiration. He was a religious mendicant, a disciple of Shivu. In stature he was short, and dreadfully lean, almost a skeleton. His long black hair, matted with cow-dung, was twisted like a turban round his head,—a filthy juti!\*. On his forehead three horizontal lines were drawn with ashes, and a circlet beneath them marked in red *sander*—his sectarian mark. If possible, they obtain the ashes from the hearth, on which a consecrated fire has been lighted. His left arm he had held erect so long, that the skin and flesh had withered, and clung round the bones most frightfully; the nails of the hand, which had been kept immoveably clenched, had pierced through the palm, and grew out at the back of the hand like the long claws of a bird of prey. His horrible and skeleton-like arm was encircled by a twisted stick, the stem, perhaps, of a thick creeper, the end of which was cut into the shape of the head of the cobra de capella, with its hood displayed, and the twisted withy looked like the body of the reptile wreathed around his horrible arm. His only garment, the skin of a tiger, thrown over his shoulders, and a bit of rag and rope at his waist. He was of a dirty-white or dirty-ashen colour from mud and paint; perhaps in imitation of Shivu, who, when he appeared on earth as a naked mendi-

\* Braided locks.



cant of an ashy colour, was recognized as Mahadeo, the great god. This man was considered a very holy person. His right hand contained an empty gourd and a small rosary, and two long rosaries were around his neck of the rough beads called *mundrasi*. His flag hung from the top of a bambu, stuck in the ground by the side of a trident, the symbol of his caste, to which hung a sort of drum used by the mendicants. A very small and most beautifully formed little gyni (a dwarf cow) was with the man. She was decorated with crimson cloth, embroidered with cowrie shells, and a plume of peacock's feathers, as a jika, rose from the top of her head. A brass bell was on her neck, and around her legs were anklets of the same metal. Numbers of fakirs come to the sacred junction, each leading one of these little dwarf cows decorated with shells, cowries, coloured worsted tassels, peacock's feathers, and bells. Some are very small; about the size of a large European sheep, very fat and sleek, and are considered so sacred that they will not sell them.

Acts of severity towards the body, practised by religious mendicants, are not done as penances for sin, but as works of extraordinary merit, promising large rewards in the future state. The Byragi is not a penitent, but a proud ascetic. These people bear the character of being thieves and rascals.

Although the Hindus keep their women *parda-nishan*, that is, veiled and secluded behind the curtain, the fakirs have the privilege of entering any house they please, and even of going into the zenana; and so great is their influence over the natives, that if a religious mendicant enter a habitation, leaving his slippers at the door, the husband may not enter his own house. They have the character of being great libertines.

We shall now change the scene to Lucknow, and have a peep at the "barbaric" shows, redolent of the Coliseum and the Cæsars, which the King of Oude exhibited for the entertainment of Lord and Lady William Bentinck in 1831. Our "Haji" enjoys the scene, and especially the scamper of the crowd from the charge of the rhinoceros. "This," she says, "was beautiful!"—

#### (WILD BEAST FIGHTS.

The river Gumti runs in front of the verandah; and on the opposite side were collected a number of elephants paired for the combat. The animals exhibited at first no inclination to fight, although urged on by their respective mahawats, and we began to imagine this native sport would prove a failure.

At length two elephants, equally matched, were guided by the mahawats on their backs to some distance from each other, and a female elephant was placed midway. As soon as the elephants turned and saw the female they became angry, and set off at a long swinging trot to meet each other; they attacked with their long tusks, and appeared to be pressing against each other with all their might. One elephant caught the leg of the other in his trunk, and strove to throw his adversary or break his fore-leg. But the most dangerous part appeared to be when they seized one another by their long trunks and interlaced them; then the combat began in good earnest. When they grew very fierce, and there was danger of their injuring themselves, fireworks were thrown in their faces, which alarmed and separated them, and small rockets were also let off for that purpose.

The situation of a mahawat during the fight is one of danger. The year before, the shock of the combat having thrown the mahawat to the ground, the elephant opposed to him took a step to one side, and, putting his great foot upon him, quietly crushed the man to death!

Sometimes the elephant will put up his trunk to seize his opponent's mahawat, and pull him off: skill and activity are requisite to avoid the danger.

The second pair of elephants that were brought in front of the verandah hung back, as if unwilling to fight, for some time; several natives, both on horseback and on foot, touched them up every now and then with long spears to rouse their anger. One of the elephants was a long time ere he could be induced to combat—but, when once excited, he fought bravely; he was a powerful animal, too much for his adversary—for, having placed his tusks against the flank of his opponent, he drove him before him step-by-step across the plain to the edge of the river, and fairly rolled him over into the Gumti. Sometimes a defeated elephant will take to the water, and his adversary will pursue him across the river.

The animals are rendered furious by giving them balls to eat made of the wax of the human ear, which the barbers collect for that purpose!

The hair on the tail of an elephant is reckoned of such importance, that the price of the animal rises or falls according to the quantity and length of the hair on the tail. It is sometimes made into bracelets for English ladies.

A great number of elephants fought in pairs during the morning; but, to have a good view of the combat, one ought to be on the plain on the other side the river, nearer to the combatants; the verandah from which we viewed the scene is rather too distant.

When the elephant-fights were over, two rhinoceroses were brought before us, and an amusing fight took place between them; they fought like pigs.

The plain was covered by natives in thousands, on foot or on horseback. When the rhinoceroses grew fierce, they charged the crowd; and it was beautiful to see the mass of people flying before them!

On the Gumti, in front of the verandah, a large pleasure-boat belonging to His Majesty was sailing up and down: the boat was made in the shape of a fish, and the golden scales glittered in the sun.

The scene was picturesque, animated, and full of novelty.

In an inclosed court, the walls of which we overlooked, seven or eight fine wild buffaloes were confined: two tigers, one hyena, and three bears were turned loose upon them. I expected to see the tigers spring upon the buffaloes, instead of which they slunk round and round the walls of the court, apparently only anxious to escape. The tigers had not a fair chance, and were sadly injured, being thrown into the air by the buffaloes, and were received again, when falling, on their enormous horns. The buffaloes attacked them three or four together, advancing in line with their heads to the ground. I observed that when the buffaloes came up to the tiger, who was generally lying on the ground, and presented their horns close to him—if the animal raised his paw and struck one of them, he was tossed in a moment; if he remained quiet, they sometimes retreated without molesting him.

The bears fought well, but in a most laughable style. The scene was a cruel one, and I was glad when it was over. None of the animals, however, were killed.

A fight was to have taken place between a country horse and two tigers, but Lady William Bentinck broke up the party and retired. I was anxious to see the animal, he is such a vicious beast; the other day he killed two tigers that were turned loose upon him.

Combats also took place between rams: the creatures attacked each other fiercely—the jar and the noise was surprising as head met head in full tilt. Well might they be called battering rams!

One day the lady got among the slave girls of Colonel Gardner's Zenána, and amused herself by playing a Hindustani air to them on the *sitar*, while they were at dinner. Up started the girls, merry, fat and happy, "with their food in their hands and their mouths full," and set to dancing with all their might. "They eat custards, rice, and milk, and more fluid food with their hand, sucking the fingers to clean them, and afterwards wipe them dry with a chapati." Sub-division of labour is carried to an extent among them so "truly oriental" as to leave far behind our rude European notions of luxury. Did ever any of our readers hear of—

#### MULLING THE EYEBROWS?

A pretty slave girl was sitting by my bedside; I held out my hand and desired her to shampoo it: the girl's countenance became clouded, and she did not offer to do it—her name was Tara (the Star). "Why do you not mull my hand, Tara,?" said I. "Oh," she replied, "I never mull the hand; the other girls do that; I only mull the Colonel Sahib's eye-brows. I can take the pain from them, when he is ill;—that is my duty. I will not shampoo the hand." I laughed at her description of the work that fell to her lot as a slave, and said, "Well, Tara, mull my eye-brows; my head aches;" with the greatest good-humour she complied, and certainly charmed away the pain. It is the great luxury of the East.

But the fair pilgrim was not always so condescending; and she amused herself occasionally after a different fashion. Here is an instance. She was in a boat on the river *alone*, and she wished to have some *tamasha* (fun):—

#### HOW THE LADY ASTONISHED THE NATIVES.

The other day I was on deck in a green velvet travelling cap, with an Indian shawl, put on after the fashion of the men, amusing myself with firing with a pellet-bow at some cotton boats *en passant* for *tamasha*. Some natives came on board to make salaam, and looked much surprised at seeing a ghulel (a pellet-bow) in feminine hands. The cotton boats would not get out of the way, therefore I pelted the manjhis, (masters, or steersmen) of the vessels, to hasten the movements of the great unwieldy lubberly craft. Of whom can I talk but of myself in this my solitude on the Jumna-ji?

The lady's activity is prodigious; it is portentous. She does every thing, and with all her heart, and well. She rides; she sails; she climbs precipices; she makes designs and models for cabinet work and furniture; she plays on all sorts of instruments, visits all sorts of people, has all sorts of pets; she takes fits of mythology, botany, entomology, confectionery and cookery; she has a passion for visiting every remarkable place; and she gratifies it, regardless of comfort or peril. If she prides herself upon any thing, it is upon "dressing a camel;" and she dresses her-

self in all kinds of out-of-the-way fashions. She seems to know (we are afraid to say how) many languages—Latin among the rest; and she handles, with equal skill, the pencil, the pellet-bow, and the grey goose-quill.

It is said of "that famed wizard, Michael Scott," that he once raised a spirit of such irrepressible and inexhaustible activity, that he could only keep him quiet at last by setting him "to make ropes of sand." We have our doubts whether even that task would have been too hard for the "Haji." She is never contented with a superficial knowledge of her "Cynthia of the moment;" she will hunt out, and know, and tell us all about it. She takes for instance to making tables and chairs; and—*voilà!* another Exhibition catalogue of

#### INDIAN WOODS FOR FURNITURE.

*Nov.*—The cold season is a busy time. Having procured a quantity of teak timber and toon wood, we established a Board of Works in the verandah, consisting of five carpenters, two sawyers, two turners, six iron-smiths, one stone-cutter, and one harness-maker. Most excellent and very handsome were the dining-tables, side-board, horse-shoe-table, wardrobes, &c., and a Stanhope, made by these men, from our own designs.

The carpenters carve wood extremely well. On my return to England, I saw and admired a round table in a friend's drawing-room; "Do you not remember," said she with surprise, "you made up that table yourself?" On looking at it, I recognized the pedestal and claw carved with broad leaves, copied from a model I made for my carpenter of Ganges mud.

The furniture was of various kinds of wood, as follows:

Teak sagun (*tectona grandis*), or Indian oak—a fine heavy timber, in colour resembling oak; strong and good wood. The teak I made use of came from Ava, and was brought up from the salt-water lake near Calcutta; good sagun was also to be purchased at Cawnpore.

The finest is brought from Java and Ava. I saw *one plank* of Java teak, which, even when made up, measured five feet six inches in diameter. It was the top of an oval table. It bears a good polish, and is suited for tables, wardrobes and the beds of billiard-tables. In the up-country the usual price is one rupee per foot, when the plank is one inch in thickness; in Calcutta, the same price when the plank is four inches in thickness. The *general* size of the timber brought from Ava is eighteen inches in breadth.

Sal, sankho, or sakoo (*shorea robusta*)—a heavy strong wood, from the up-country; fit for beams of houses, wardrobes, frames, window-frames, kitchen-tables, &c. Price, when thirty feet in length by seventeen inches in breadth, twenty-six rupees; when twenty-one feet in length by twenty-two in breadth, thirty-two rupees. It is sold cheap at Cawnpore in September and October.

Shisham, sissu, or sesu (*dalbergia sissoo*)—from the up-country; fit for tables, chairs, carriage-wheels and bodies; very heavy, takes a good polish, fine grained. Price, eighteen feet in length by fourteen in breadth, thirteen rupees; good for bullock-collars; cheap in September.

Toon—a light soft-grained wood, very much resembling mahogany; fit for tables, chairs, billiard-table frames, book-cases, &c.; reasonable at Cawnpore.

**Sundri**—comes from Calcutta ; the best wood for shafts and carriage-wheels.

**Arnoose**, or bastard ebony, also called **tinu**—a common timber found on the banks of the Jumna ; used for fire-wood ; three or four muns per rupee. In the centre of the wood the ebony is found, which is lighter, both in colour and weight, than the ebony from the hills (abnoos), which is very heavy, hard, and difficult to cut ; also of a good blackness ; useful for handles of seals, chess-men, &c.

**Cocoonut tree**, **naryul**—from Calcutta ; also one of the best for shafts ; the bark is curious ; when petrified and polished, it is made into ornaments, brooches, &c.

**Sutsaul**—something like rose-wood ; comes from the Nepaul Terai.

**Tindoa**—hard, tough, and very good for turning.

**Rouswood** (rous) from the hills ; extremely delicate and fine grained ; turns beautifully ;—colour light. I procured rouswood fit for turning in the jungles near Allahabad.

**Nim** or **nimb** (*melia azadirachta*)—extremely heavy and tough ; colour light—almost white ; turns well.

**Korieah**—Benares toys are made of this wood : it is beautifully white, fine grained, and delicate ; it turns delightfully, and is very light. The toys are lacquered on the lathe by applying sealing-wax to them ; the friction warms the sealing-wax, and it adheres. See Appendix, No. 11.

**Mango-wood**, **amra**, (*spondias mangifera*)—fit for common work, out-house doors and beams, kitchen-tables, &c.

**Babul**—a very heavy and extremely hard wood (*acacia Arabica*).

**Patang**—a red wood, used in colouring cloths.

**Lall chundun**—a cedar.

**Chucrassy**—also walnut-wood from the hills.

The great charm of the book is that it is so delightfully prosaic. She never philosophizes, eschews sentiment, and, with the exception of one little flight about the Himalaya, never attempts to be poetical. She is wonderfully honest and truthful ; but we suspect that in two or three instances she has been victimized, or has been a little too credulous. The following scene, dashed off with a broad and coarse pencil, made us draw breath for more than one reason. We have never seen or heard of any such ceremony ; but the lady says, she saw it with her own eyes, and heard it with her own ears :—

#### DRIVING AWAY THE CHOLERA.

“Every country hath its own fashions.” The Hindu women, in the most curious manner, propitiate the goddess who brings all this illness into the bazar : they go out in the evening about 7 p. m., sometimes two or three hundred at a time, carrying each a lota, or brass vessel, filled with sugar, water, cloves, &c. In the first place they make puja ; then, stripping off their chadars, and binding their sole petticoat around their waists, as high above the knee as it can be pulled up, they perform a most frantic sort of dance, forming themselves into a circle, whilst in the centre of the circle about five or six women dance entirely naked, beating their hands together, over their heads, and then applying them behind with a great smack, that keeps time with the music, and with the song they scream out

all the time, accompanied by native instruments, played by men, who stand at a distance, to the sound of which these women dance and sing, looking like frantic creatures. Last night, returning from a drive, passing the Fort, I saw five or six women dancing and whipping themselves after this fashion; fortunately, my companion did not comprehend what they were about. The Hindu women alone practise this curious method of driving away diseases from the bazar; the Mussulmanis never. The men avoid the spot where the ceremony takes place; but here and there, one or two men may be seen looking on, whose presence does not appear to molest the nut-brown dancers in the least; they shriek, and sing, and smack, and scream, most marvellously.

Our next selection shall be a charming sketch from nature, worthy of Knapp, or White of Selborne:—

#### THE BYA BIRD AND THE BABUL TREE.

On a babul-tree in the grounds are twelve or fifteen beautiful nests pendant from the extremity of slender twigs—the habitations of a little community of Bya birds. I took down three of the nests; they contained two, three, and four little white eggs; the parent birds made a sad lament when the nests were taken. If you take a nest with the young birds in it, the parent bird will follow and feed them. The natives consider it highly improper to shoot the Bya birds; they are sacred, and so tame. One of my servants has brought me a young bird; it flies to my hand when I call it. There is a pretty fable which says, “The old birds put a fire-fly into their nests every night to act as a lamp.” Perhaps they sometimes feed their young on fire-flies, which may be the origin of the story. It is pleasing to imagine the sacred birds swinging in their pretty nests pendant from the extreme end of a branch, the interior lighted by a fire-fly lamp. The Bya bird is the Indian yellow-hammer; the nests I speak of are almost within reach of my hand, and close to the house. For the shape of the nests, see the sketch entitled “The Spring Bow.” They are of grass beautifully woven together, and suspended by a long thin tapering end, the entrance hanging downwards. In the nests containing the young, there is no division; the swelling on the side is the part in which the young ones nestle together. Some of the nests appear as if they were cut short off: these are purposely built so, and contain two apartments, which are, I suppose, the place, where the parent birds sit and confabulate on the aspect of affairs in general. The birds are very fond of hanging their nests from slender twigs over a pool of water, as in the sketch, the young birds thus being in greater safety.

The wood of the babul (*acacia Arabica*) is extremely hard, and is used by the Brahmans to kindle their sacred fire, by rubbing two pieces of it together, when it is of a proper age, and sufficiently dried. It produces the Indian gum Arabic. The gold ear-rings made in imitation of the flower of the babul, worn by Indian women, and by some men also, are beautiful.

From the fair pilgrim's numerous escapes and *escapades*, by field and flood and mountain, we select her close interview with a chita, or hunting leopard:—

#### THE LADY AND THE CHITA.

We arrived at the estate of a native gentleman called Petumber, where, on the plain, we saw a herd of about three hundred antelopes, bounding,

running, and playing in the sunshine; and a severe sun it was, enough to give one a brain fever, in spite of the leather hood of the buggy. The antelopes are so timid, they will not allow a buggy to come very near the herd; therefore, being determined to see the hunt, we got out of the carriage, and mounted upon the hackery (cart), on which the chita was carried, without even an umbrella, lest it should frighten the deer. The chita had a hood over his eyes and a rope round his loins, and two natives, his keepers, were with him.

I sat down by accident on the animal's tail:—O-o-o-wh, growled the chita. I did not wait for another growl, but released his tail instantly. The bullock hackery was driven into the midst of the herd. The bandage was removed from the eyes of the chita, and the cord from his body: he dropped from the cart and bounded, with the most surprising bounds, towards an immense black buck, seized him by the throat, flung him on the ground, and held him there. The keepers went up, they cut the buck's throat, and then they cut off the haunch of the hind leg, and, dipping a wooden spoon into the cavity, offered it full of blood to the chita. Nothing but this would have induced the chita to quit the throat of the buck. He followed the men to the cart, jumped upon it, drank the blood, and the men then put his bandage over his eyes. The haunch was put into the back of the cart, the reward for the animal when the hunting was over. The herd had passed on; we followed, taking care the wind did not betray our approach. The chita was leaning against me in the hackery, and we proceeded very sociably. Another herd of antelopes went bounding near us, the chita's eyes were unbound again, and the rope removed from his loins; a fine buck passed, we expected he would instantly pursue it as usual, but the animal turned sulky, and, instead of dropping down from the hackery, he put both his fore paws on my lap and stood there two or three seconds with his face and whiskers touching my cheek. O-o-o-wh—O-o-o-wh, growled the chita!—my heart beat faster, but I sat perfectly quiet, as you may well imagine, whilst I thought to myself, "If he seize my throat, he will never leave it, until they cut off my hind-quarter, and give him a bowl of blood!" His paws were as light on my lap as those of a cat. How long the few seconds appeared whilst I eyed him askance! Nor was I slightly glad when the chita dropped to the ground, where he crouched down sulkily and would not hunt. He was a very fine-tempered animal, but they are all uncertain. I did not like his being quite so near when he was unfastened and sulky.)

The next time I took care to get off the cart before the creature was freed from restraint.

As a pendant, here is her reminiscence of a more agreeable companion:—

#### THE PET SQUIRREL.

Let me record the death of little Jack Bunce, my pet squirrel. On our arrival at Prag, I went into the stable to see a sick horse, and, hearing a chirping noise, looked up, and saw a young squirrel, which, having escaped from its nest, was in great perplexity on its first expedition from home. I caught it. Its eyes were open; but it could not run very fast. For the first week it lived either in my husband's pocket, or on my shoulder; if alarmed, it took refuge with him. It became very tame, and never ran away. A gay house with two rooms was built for it. At first it drank milk and ate sweetmeats (perhaps as it grew older it had bread, grain, milk, and whatever it pleased during meals, at which time it would quit my shoulder

for the table. We caught several young ones, and put them into Jack's cage ; he was pleased, and tended them like a little old nurse ; but they grew very wild, and we let them go, with the exception of one little female, whom Jack reared as his helpmate, and appeared very fond of her ; she was very wild, and would not allow me to touch her. They went with me to Lucknow. One night I heard Jack and his wife quarrelling violently—she bit off his beautiful long tail, and Jack killed her for it : the wretches also ate their young one. Jack returned with me, and, to complete his education, I took him to the holy city of Benares, that he might gain absolution for his little improprieties. Never was there so travelled a squirrel ! He lived with us three years, always fat, sleek, and merry ; and very fond of us, chirping and running to us when we called him ; at last he fell ill, and died quickly. Sometimes he would run off into the garden, but when I called him would return, run up my gown to my shoulder, and give a shrill peculiar whistle ; he was the largest of the kind I ever saw, and the three streaks down his back were beautiful. Poor little Jack ! you were a nice and sensible little animal ! The males are more courageous, and more easily tamed, than the females.

Among the strange persons, places, and things, encountered by the lady in her pilgrimage, there was one only, whose wanderings and eccentricities were more than a match for her own. Human nature is weak ; and even Mrs. Parks, notwithstanding her "*fureur*" for every thing out of the way, shows symptoms of uneasiness, and does scant justice to the merits of her rival. Need we say that this could be none other than the celebrated Joseph Wolff ?—Yet the lady shows good fight ; her quiet hit at the condition of Joseph's Bible, and her parting present of an idol to the wandering Padre, are, in their way, first-rate. We quote what she says of him :—

JOSEPH WOLFF.

My husband accompanied me to hear Mr. Wolff. He is a strange and most curious-looking man ; in stature short and thin ; and his weak frame appears very unfit to bear the trials and hardships to which he has been, and will be, exposed in his travels. His face is very flat, deeply marked with small-pox ; his complexion that of dough, and his hair flaxen. His grey eyes roll and start, and fix themselves, at times, most fearfully ; they have a cast in them, which renders their expression still wilder. Being a German, and by birth a Jew, his pronunciation of English is very remarkable ; at times it is difficult to understand him : however, his foreign accent only gives originality to his lectures, aided occasionally by vehement gesticulation. His voice is deep and impressive ; at times, having given way to great and deep enthusiasm, and having arrested the attention of his hearers, he sinks at once down into some common-place remark, his voice becoming a most curious treble, the effect of which is so startling, one can scarcely refrain from laughter. He understands English very well ; his language is excellent, but evidently borrowed more from reading than from conversation. He makes use of words never used in common *parlance*, but always well and forcibly applied. He carries you along with him in his travels, presenting before you the different scenes he has witnessed, and pointing out those customs and manners still in use,



which prove the truth of Scripture. His descriptions at times are very forcible, and his account of the lives of St. Augustine and other holy men very interesting.

\* \* \* \* \*

A lady brought Mr. Wolff to call upon me, he being anxious to see my collection Hindu idols. On his arrival, he introduced himself in these words:—"I am of the tribe of Benjamin, and Benjamin was a ravening wolf,—and so, they call me Wolff!"

On Sunday he preached, or rather gave us a homily, which was sufficiently startling for even us Indians. What you sober people in England would think of it, I know not. We dined at Mr. F——'s house, and met Mr. Wolff. After dinner, he was very anxious all the ladies should write their names in his Bible, which is seldom out of his hands, and was in such a state I did not like to touch it. Should he visit Hampshire, he will give lectures: they are worth hearing. Perhaps he will repeat the story of the mother of St. Augustine. All that I recollect of it is, the mother, weeping bitterly, spoke to some holy man respecting her son, whose conduct gave her pain. He answered, "The child of a mother of so many tears cannot be lost." This child was afterwards St. Augustine. It is very beautiful, "The child of a mother of so many tears cannot be lost!"

I gave Mr. Wolff two Hindu idols, with which he was much pleased; he interests himself in the Muhammadan religion, but is entirely ignorant respecting the worship of the Hindus.

For our readers at home, we shall quote her account of the Gypsies:—

#### THE NUT LOG.

19th.—Yesterday, some wandering gypsies (Nut Log) came to the door: they were a family of tumblers. Nut is the name of a tribe who are generally jugglers, rope-dancers, &c. There was one girl amongst them whose figure was most beautiful, and her attitudes more classic and elegant than any I have ever beheld; Madame Sacchi would hide her diminished head before the supple and graceful attitudes of this Indian girl.

A man placed a solid piece of wood, of the shape of an hour-glass, and about eighteen inches in height, on his head; the girl ran up his back, and standing on one foot on the top of the wood, maintained her balance in the most beautiful attitude, whilst the man ran round and round in a small circle; she then sprang off his head to the ground. After this she again ran up his back, and kneeling on the hour-glass-like wood on his head, allowed him to run in the circle; then she balanced herself on the small of her back, her hands and feet in the air! After that, she stood on her head, her feet straight in the air, the man performing the circle all the time! The drapery worn by the natives falls in the most beautiful folds, and the girl was a fit subject for a statuary: I was delighted.

They placed a brass vessel, with dust in it, behind her back on the ground, whilst she stood erect; she bent backwards, until her forehead touched the dust in the vessel, and took up between her eyelids two bits of iron, that looked like bodkins; the brass pan in which they were laid was only about two inches high from the ground! She threw herself into wonderful attitudes with a sword in her hand. A set of drawings, illustrating all the graceful positions which she assumed, would be very interesting; I had never seen any thing of the kind before, and thought of Wilhelm Meister. The Nut Log consisted of five women, one little child, and one man, who performed all these extraordinary feats; another man

beat a tom-tom to keep time for them, and accompanied it with his voice ; the poor little child performed wonderfully well. She could not have been more than six years old ; the other girl was, I should suppose, about eighteen years of age.

Another exhibition worth seeing is an Hindustani juggler, with his goat, two monkeys, and three bits of wood, like the wood used in England to play the devil and two sticks. The first bit of wood is placed on the ground, the goat ascends it, and balances herself, on the top ; the man by degrees places another bit of wood on the upper edge of the former ; the goat ascends, and retains her balance ; the third piece, in like manner, is placed on the top of the former two pieces ; the goat ascends from the two former, a monkey is placed on her back, and she still preserves the balance. I have seen this curious performance many times. The man keeps time with a sort of musical instrument, which he holds in his right hand, and sings a wild song to aid the goat ; without the song and the measured time, they say the goat could not perform the balance.

The hero of the work, however, or rather of the first volume, is Colonel Gardner, and its greatest novelty is an account of his *Zenana*. We confess that we have no sympathy with the enthusiasm of the authoress, and that we find her details of the interior of the *Zenana* the dullest part of the book. Colonel Gardner was a soldier of fortune, who succeeded, by an unscrupulous use of his position as an ambassador from a paramount power, in forcing himself into an alliance with the family of a native prince, by a marriage with a little girl, only twelve years old. He adopted in his family native habits and native usages ; and, though his children were educated nominally as Christians, his son married a Mussulman princess, whom he carried off from under his father's roof ; and his grand-daughter, Susan Gardner, apparently much against his inclination, became the wife of a dissipated and needy Shahzadah, allied to the royal family of Delhi. No body can be a better authority than Colonel Gardner on life and manners, as they are found in the *Zenana* ; and we shall give his account of them in his own words :—

#### LIFE IN THE ZENANA.

"They have ponies to ride upon within the four walls of the *Zenana* grounds. Archery is a favourite amusement ; my son, James Gardner, who is a very fine marksman, was taught by a woman.

"A silver swing is the great object of ambition ; and it is *the fashion* to swing in the rains, when it is thought charming to come in dripping wet. The swings are hung between two high posts in the garden.

"Fashion is as much regarded by the Mussulmani ladies as by the English ; they will not do this or that because it is not the fashion.

"It is general amongst the higher and the middle classes of females in Hindustan to be able to read the Kuran in Arabic (it is not allowed to be translated), and the Commentary in Persian.

"The ladies are very fond of eating fresh whole roasted coffee. When a number of women are sitting on the ground, all eating the dry roasted coffee, the noise puts me in mind of a flock of sheep at the grain trough.

"The most correct hour for dinner is eleven or twelve at night; they smoke their bukus all through the night, and sleep during the day.

"Nothing can exceed the quarrels that go on in the Zenana, or the complaints the Begums make against each other. A common complaint is 'Such an one has been practising witchcraft against me.' If the husband make a present to one wife, even if it be only a basket of mangoes, he must make the same exactly to all the other wives to keep the peace. A wife, when in a rage with her husband, if on account of jealousy, often says, 'I wish I were married to a grass-cutter,' *i. e.* because a grass-cutter is so poor, he can only afford to have one wife.

"My having been married some thirty or forty years, and never having taken another wife, surprises the Mussulmans very much, and the ladies all look upon me as a pattern: they do not admire a system of having three or four rivals, however well pleased the gentlemen may be with the custom."

The poor old man seems to have been keenly sensible of the miserable lot, to which his own weakness condemned his child. Mrs. Parks tells us, that—

When the moment arrived for the Prince to carry off his bride, the whole of the women in the Zenana came round her, and cried and wept with all their might and main; even those who did not regret her departure cried and wept most furiously. Colonel Gardner was sitting there, looking pale and miserable; when he embraced his grand-daughter, whom he loved, the old man trembled in every limb, the tears dropped from his eyes, and he could scarcely stand. He called the Prince to him, and told him that, according to his treatment of his child should be his own conduct towards him; that if he made her happy, he should want for nothing; but if he made her unhappy, he would make him miserable. Colonel Gardner then said to me, "When I gave her sister to young Gardner, I knew she would be happy; but this poor girl, who may prophesy her fate? However, she wished it; her mother and the Begum had set their hearts upon it; and you know, my beti (my child), women will have their own way."

We turn from this melancholy sacrifice, wretched in every case, but most degrading to a Christian and an English gentleman, with a mixed feeling of sorrow and shame. The whole story has its own moral; and we will not injure it by comment or remark. The ladies seem to have been happy enough in their way; and the following description of one of them, Mrs. James Gardner, otherwise Mulka Begum, the mother of the bride, is in Mrs. Parks's peculiar manner—lively, picturesque, and characteristic:—

(THE MULKA BEGUM.

A short time after our arrival, Mulka Begum entered the room, looking like a dazzling apparition; you could not see her face, she having drawn her dopatta (veil) over it; her movements were graceful, and the magnificence and elegance of her drapery were surprising to the eye of an European.

She seated herself on the gaddi, and, throwing her dopatta partly off her

face, conversed with us. How beautiful she looked! how very beautiful! Her animated countenance was constantly varying, and her dark eyes struck fire, when a joyous thought crossed her mind. The languor of the morning had disappeared; by lamplight she was a different creature; and I felt no surprise, when I remembered the wondrous tales told by the men of the beauty of Eastern women. Mulka walks very gracefully, and is as straight as an arrow. In Europe, how rarely—how very rarely does a woman walk gracefully! bound up in stays, the body is as stiff as a lobster in its shell; that snake-like undulating movement,—the poetry of motion—is lost, destroyed by the stiffness of the waist and hip, which impedes the free movement of the limbs. A lady in European attire gives me the idea of a German mannikin; an Asiatic, in her flowing drapery, recalls the statues of antiquity.

I had heard of Mulka's beauty long ere I beheld her, and she was described to me as the loveliest creature in existence. Her eyes, which are very long, large, and dark, are remarkably fine, and appeared still larger from being darkened on the edges of the eyelids with surma: natives compare the shape of a fine eye to a mango when cut open. Her forehead is very fine; her nose delicate, and remarkably beautiful,—so finely chiselled; her mouth appeared less beautiful, the lips being rather thin. According to the custom of married women in the East, her teeth were blackened, and the inside of her lips also, with missi (antimony); which has a peculiarly disagreeable appearance to my eye, and may therefore have made me think the lower part of her countenance less perfectly lovely than the upper: in the eye of a native, this application of missi adds to beauty. Her figure is tall and commanding; her hair jet black, very long and straight; her hands and arms are lovely, very lovely.

On the cloth before Mulka were many glass dishes, filled with sweetmeats, which were offered to the company, with tea and coffee, by her attendants. Mulka partook of the coffee; her huqu was at her side, which she smoked now and then: she offered her own huqu to me, as a mark of favour. A superior or equal has her huqu in attendance, whilst the bindah khana furnishes several for the inferior visitors. Mrs. Valentine Gardner, the wife of Colonel Gardner's brother, was of the party; she lives with the Begum.

Mulka's dress was extremely elegant, the most becoming attire imaginable. A Mussulmani wears only four garments:—

Firstly, the *angiya*: a boddice, which fits tight to the bosom, and has short sleeves; it is made of silk gauze, profusely ornamented.

Secondly, the *kurti*: a sort of loose body, without sleeves, which comes down to the hips; it is made of net, crape, or gauze, and highly ornamented.

Thirdly, *pajamas*: of gold or crimson brocade, or richly-figured silk; made tight at the waist, but gradually expanding until they reach the feet, much after the fashion of a fan, where they measure eight yards eight inches! A gold border finishes the trowser.

Fourthly, the *dopatta*: which is the most graceful and purely feminine attire in the world; it is of white transparent gauze, embroidered with gold, and trimmed with gold at the ends, which have also a deep fringe of gold and silver.

The *dopatta* is so transparent, it hides not; it merely veils the form, adding beauty to the beautiful, by its soft and cloud-like folds. The jewellery sparkles beneath it; and the outline of its drapery is continually changing according to the movements or coquetry of the wearer. Such was the

attire of the Princess! Her head was covered with pearls and precious stones, most gracefully arranged: from the throat to the waist was a succession of strings of large pearls and precious stones; her arms and hands were covered with armlets, bracelets, and rings innumerable. Her delicate and uncovered feet were each decorated with two large circular anklets composed of gold and precious stones, and golden rings were on her toes. In her nose she wore a n'hut, a large thin gold ring, on which were strung two large pearls, with a ruby between them. A nose-ring is a love-token, and is always presented by the bridegroom to the bride. No single woman is allowed to wear one.

In her youth Mulka learned to read and write in Persian, but since her marriage has neglected it. Music is, considered disgraceful for a lady of rank; dancing the same:—such things are left to nâch women. Mulka made enquiries concerning the education of young ladies in England; and on hearing how many hours were devoted to the piano, singing, and dancing, she expressed her surprise, considering such nâch-like accomplishments degrading.)

This is very pretty and very picturesque: but the truth is that the poetry and romance of the Harem exist only in warm imaginations, and in that propensity of our nature, which lends to the unknown a beauty and a charm, which the prosaic hand of reality rudely tears away. A zenana is (oftener than any thing else) a collection of dirty, quarrelling, coarse-minded, and uneducated women, who spend their time in cooking, dressing, match-making, and debasing intrigues. The beauty of the women is merely physical, and rapidly degenerates: their passions are oftenest those of the animal; and their minds, with a few rare exceptions, have no scope for healthy exercise, or ennobling pursuit. Hence it is, that they hold such a subordinate place in the social scale; and they will never rise above it, until the men feel and appreciate the surpassing value of Christian companionship, and household confidence and affection.

We have seen something of "*la crème de la crème*" of Musulmani female society, in a family allied with the blood royal of Delhi; and our highly favoured pilgrim is able to introduce us into the zenana of a scion of Hindu monarchy, a lady, who had sate on the throne of Gwalior, as queen regnant for nine years:—

#### THE BAIZA BHAI AND THE GAJA RAJA.

We found Her Highness seated on her gaddi of embroidered cloth, with her grand-daughter, the Gaja Raja Sahib, at her side; the ladies, her attendants, were standing around her; and the sword of Scindia was on the gaddi, at her feet. She rose to receive and embrace us, and desired us to be seated near her. The Baiza Bai is rather an old woman, with grey hair and *en bon point*; she must have been pretty in her youth; her smile is remarkably sweet, and her manners particularly pleasing; her hands and feet are very small, and beautifully formed. Her sweet voice reminded me of the proverb, "A pleasant voice brings a snake out of a hole." She

was dressed in the plainest red silk, wore no ornaments, with the exception of a pair of small plain bars of gold as bracelets. Being a widow, she is obliged to put jewellery aside, and to submit to numerous privations and hardships. Her countenance is very mild and open; there is a freedom and independence in her air that I greatly admire,—so unlike that of the sleeping, languid, opium-eating Mussulmanis. Her grand daughter, the Gaja Raja Sahib, is very young; her eyes the largest I ever saw; her face is rather flat, and not pretty; her figure is beautiful; she is the least little wee creature you ever beheld. The Mahratta dress consists only of two garments, which are, a tight body to the waist, with sleeves tight to the elbow; a piece of silk, some twenty yards or more in length, which they wind around them as a petticoat, and then, taking a part of it, draw it between the limbs, and fasten it behind, in a manner that gives it the effect both of petticoat and trowsers; this is the whole dress, unless, at times, they substitute angiyas, with short sleeves, for the tight long-sleeved body.

The Gaja Raja was dressed in purple Benares silk, with a deep gold border woven into it; when she walked, she looked very graceful, and the dress very elegant; on her forehead was a mark like a spear-head, in red paint; her hair was plaited, and bound into a knot at the back of her head, and low down; her eyes were edged with surma, and her hands and feet dyed with henna. On her feet and ankles were curious silver ornaments; toe-rings of peculiar form, which she sometimes wore of gold, sometimes of red coral. In her nostril was a very large and brilliant n'hut (nose-ring), of diamonds, pearls, and precious stones, of the particular shape worn by the Mahrattas; in her ears were fine brilliants. From her throat to her waist she was covered with strings of magnificent pearls and jewels; her hands and arms were ornamented with the same. She spoke but little,—scarcely five words passed her lips; she appeared timid, but was pleased with the bouquet of beautiful flowers, just fresh from the garden, that the lady, who presented me, laid at her feet on her entrance. These Mahrattas are a fine bold race; amongst her ladies in waiting I remarked several fine figures, but their faces were generally too flat. Some of them stood in waiting with rich Cashmere shawls thrown over their shoulders; one lady, before the Maharaj, leaned on her sword, and, if the Ba'i quitted the apartment, the attendant and sword always followed her. The Ba'i was speaking of horses, and the lady, who introduced me, said I was as fond of horses as a Mahratta. Her Highness said she should like to see an English lady on horseback; she could not comprehend how they could sit, all crooked, all on one side, in the side-saddle. I said I should be so happy to ride into camp any hour Her Highness would appoint, and show her the style of horsemanship practised by ladies in England.

Never does the lady appear more in her glory, than when in that celebrated ride, she “witched the world with noble horsemanship,” contending on equal terms with the fairy Gaja Raja, making the unseen “great unknown” lose sight of discretion, and feeling as if she could have “jumped over the moon.” Our readers must have the ride:—

#### THE RIDE IN THE ZENANA.

I mounted him, and entering the precincts of the Zenana, found myself in a large court, where all the ladies of the ex-Queen were assembled, and anxiously looking for the English lady, who would ride crooked! The Ba'i

was seated in the open air ; I rode up, and, dismounting, paid my respects. She remarked the beauty of the Arab, felt the hollow under his jaw, admired his eye, and, desiring one of the ladies to take up his foot, examined it, and said he had the small, black, hard foot of the pure Arab ; she examined and laughed at my saddle. I then mounted, and putting the Arab on his mettle, showed her how English ladies manage their horses. When this was over, three of the Baiza Bai's own riding horses were brought out by the female attendants ; for we were within the Zenana, where no man is allowed to enter. The horses were in full caparison, the saddles covered with velvet and kinkwhab and gold embroidery, their heads and necks ornamented with jewels and chains of gold. The Gaja Raja, in her Mahratta riding dress, mounted one of the horses, and the ladies the others ; they cantered and pranced about, showing off the Mahratta style of riding. On dismounting, the young Gaja Raja threw her horse's bridle over my arm, and said, laughingly, "Are you afraid ? or will you try my horse ?" Who could resist such a challenge ? "I shall be delighted," was my reply. "You cannot ride like a Mahratta in that dress," said the Princess ; "put on proper attire." I retired to obey her commands, returning in Mahratta costume, mounted her horse, put my feet into the great iron stirrups, and started away for a gallop round the enclosure. I thought of Queen Elizabeth, and her stupidity in changing the style of riding for women. *En cavalier*, it appeared so safe, as if I could have jumped over the moon. Whilst I was thus amusing myself, "Shah-bash ! shah-bash !" exclaimed some masculine voice ; but who pronounced the words, or where the speaker lay *perdu*, I have never discovered.

"Now," said I to the Gaja Raja, "having obeyed your commands, will you allow one of your ladies to ride on my side-saddle ?" My habit was put on one of them ; how ugly she looked ! "She is like a black doctor !" exclaimed one of the girls. The moment I got the lady into the saddle, I took the rein in my hand, and riding by her side, started her horse off in a canter ; she hung on one side, and could not manage it at all ; suddenly checking her horse, I put him into a sharp trot. The poor lady hung half off the animal, clinging to the pommel, and screaming to me to stop ; but I took her on most unmercifully, until we reached the spot where the Baiza Bai was seated ; the walls rang with laughter ; the lady dismounted, and vowed she would never again attempt to sit on such a vile crooked thing as a side-saddle. It caused a great deal of amusement in the camp.

It is but fair, however, to acquit Queen Bess of such a piece of "stupidity." Nearly two hundred years before her day, the side saddle was introduced into England by Anne of Bohemia, the fair and beloved queen of the luckless Richard II. : so, we trust, our bold equestrian will never breathe such "scandal against Queen Elizabeth again."

In spite, however, of all this outward glitter, there are passages in the lady's book, (which we dare not quote, and will not indicate,) proving the foulness and real barbarism, that lurk beneath ; and another glimpse at the Gaja Raja will show clearly the gulf, that separates the high-born and high-bred Mahratta princess from the lowliest English peasant girl :—

#### THE GAJA RAJA DOING PUJA.

Picture to yourself the extraordinary scene. The young Princess doing

pûja before the shrine of Mahadeo, a descent on earth of Shivu, the destroyer. Her delicate form, covered from head to foot with a mixture of ashes and Ganges mud; her long black hair matted with the same, and bound round her head like a turban; her attire the skin of a tiger; her necklace of human bones, a rosary in her hand, and a human skull for an alms dish,—a religious mendicant; or making discordant music on a sort of double-headed hand-drum used by fakirs, and wandering about within the canvas walls of the Zenana tent like a maniac! The skull borne by religious mendicants is to represent that of Brumha. Shivu, in a quarrel, cut off one of Brumha's five heads, and made an alms-dish of it. As the Gaja Raja appeared as a religious mendicant, the form in which the lord of the Bhutus appeared on earth, I hope some of the ladies represented the latter, a number of whom always attended Shivu. The Bhutus are beings partly in human shape, though some of them have the faces of horses, others of camels, others of monkeys, &c.; some have the bodies of horses, and the faces of men; some have one leg, and some two; some have only one ear, and others only one eye. They would have made charming attendants on the little Princess, who, wrapped in a tiger's skin, and wandering like a maniac, performed, before the shrine of Mahadeo, the vow made in her name by her mother at her birth!

Turning over the leaves at random, we light upon the following description of "a north-wester." It is an exquisite picture—graphic—vivid—the very reality in a verbal embodiment:—

#### AN INDIAN TUFAN.

High and deep clouds of dust come rushing along the ground, which, soaring into the highest heaven, spread darkness with a dull sulphureous tinge, as the red brown clouds of the tufan whirl swiftly on. It would almost be an inducement to go to India, were it only to see a hurricane in all its glory: the might and majesty of wind and dust: just now the fine sand from the banks of the river is passing in such volumes on the air, that the whole landscape has a white hue, and objects are indistinct; it drives through every crevice, and, although the windows are all shut, fills my eyes and covers the paper. It is a fearful gale. I have been out to see if the pinnacle is likely to be driven from her moorings. The waves in the river are rolling high with crests of foam; a miniature sea. So powerful were the gusts, with difficulty I was able to stand against them. Like an Irish hurricane, it blew up and down. At last the falling of heavy rain caused the abatement of the wind. The extreme heat passed away; the trees, the earth, all nature, animate and inanimate, exulted in the refreshing rain. Only those, who have panted and longed for the fall of rain, can appreciate the delight, with which we hailed the setting in of the rains after the tufan.

Here is an account of an interview with a family from the Rajmahal hills, an interesting relic of the aboriginal races of Hindustan:—

#### A FAMILY FROM THE HILLS.

As we were tossing the bones to the little spaniels, we met with an adventure, which, bringing for the second time in my life uncivilized beings before me, quite delighted me. The footpath from the interior of the hills



led to the place where we were seated. Down this path came a most delightful group, a family of savages, who attracted my attention by the singularity of their features, the smallness and activity of their bodies, their mode of gathering their hair in a knot on the top of their heads, and their wild-looking bows and arrows. We called these good-natured, gay-looking people around us; they appeared pleased at being noticed, and one of the women offered me some young heads of Indian corn, which she took from a basket she carried on her head, containing their principal provision, this boiled and mashed Indian corn. She also carried a child seated astride upon her hip. A child is rarely seen in a woman's arms, as in Europe. The same custom appears to have existed amongst the Jews: "Ye shall be borne upon her sides, and dandled upon her knees."—*Isaiah*.

The party consisted of a man and three boys, apparently eight, twelve, and sixteen years of age, two women, and a little girl. The man said he had come from a place four coss within the hills, by our calculation eight miles; but, hill measurement of distance being generally liberal, I should suppose it double that distance. Their descent at this time to the plains was to help in gathering in the present crop of uncut rice, for which purpose the owners of the fields had asked them to come down. The man appeared to be about five feet in height, remarkable for lightness and suppleness of limb, with the piercing and restless eye that is said to be peculiar to savages. His countenance was round and happy; the expression had both cunning and simplicity; the nose depressed between the eyes, and altogether a face that one laughed to look at. His black hair drawn tight up in a knot on the very top of the head, the ends fastened in with a wooden comb. His only clothing a small piece of linen bound around his middle. He carried a bow of hill bambu, the string of which was formed out of the twisted rind of the bambu, and the four arrows were of the common reed, headed with iron barbs of different shapes; one of the barbs was poisoned. The hill-man said he had bought the poison into which the barb had been dipped of a more remote hill tribe, and was ignorant of its nature: he begs us not to handle the point. The natives will not mention the name of the plant from which the poison is procured; it appears to be a carefully-guarded secret. On each arrow were strips of feather from the wing of the vulture. The boy was similarly dressed, and armed. The woman, who carried the child, appeared to be the favourite, from the number of ornaments on her person. She was extremely small in stature, but fat and well-looking. Unlike the women of the plains, she wore no covering on her head, and but little on her body. Two or three yards of cloth passed around her waist, and descended half way below the knees; whilst a square of the same was tied over her shoulders like a monkey mantle; passed under the left arm it was drawn over the bosom, and the ends tied on the shoulder of the right arm. Her hair was tied up in the same fashion as the man's. Around the rim of each ear were twenty-three thin ear-rings of brass; and three or four necklaces of red and white beads hung down to her waist in gradations. Her nose-ring was moderately large in circumference, but very heavy, pulling down the right nostril by its weight; it was of silver, with four large beads, and an ornament of curious form. She had thick purple glass-rings on her arms, called *churis*, of coarse manufacture, and other ornaments which I forget, something of the same sort.

She talked openly and freely. I took the man's bow, and shot an arrow after the English fashion; at which the whole family laughed excessively, and appeared to think it so absurd that I should not draw a bow in the style of a mountaineer. I begged the man to show me the proper method;

he put a sort of ring on my thumb, placed my right forefinger straight along the arrow, and bid me draw it by the force of the string catching on the thumb-ring. I did so, and shot my arrow with better aim than when pursuing the English method. His happiness was great on my giving him a rupee for a bow, two arrows, one of which was the poisoned one, and the thumb-ring. He said his employment consisted principally in shooting animals at night by lying in wait for them. He crouched down on the ground to show the way of lying in wait for wild hogs. On seeing a hog near, he would immediately spring to his feet and shoot his arrow, drawing it quite to the head. Sometimes they kill hogs with poisoned arrows; nevertheless they feed upon the animals, taking care to cut out the flesh around the arrow the instant the hog falls. He told us he had but one wife, his *tiri*, the hillman's name for wife, whom he had left at home; perhaps the *tiri* was an abbreviation of *istiri*, or *tiriya*, wife.

After our long conversation with the savages, we bade them adieu, and my parting present was a pink silk handkerchief for his *tiri* in the hills.

We have reserved for our concluding extract the story of the Cocky-olli-bird. Did ever any of our readers hear of the Cocky-olli-bird? "Alas for the wickedness of the world! Alas for the pilgrim!"—

#### THE COCKY-OLLI-BIRD.

I saw a beautiful Persian kitten on an Arab's shoulder; he was marching with a long string of camels carrying grapes, apples, dates, and Tusar cloth for sale from Cabul. Perched on each camel were one or two Persian cats. The pretty tortoise-shell kitten, with its remarkably long hair and bushy tail, caught my eye:—its colours were so brilliant. The Arab ran up to the Stanhope, holding forth the kitten; we checked the impetuous horse for an instant, and I seized the pretty little creature; the check rendered the horse still more violent; away he sprang, and off he set at full speed through the encampment, which we had just reached. The Arab thinking I had purposely stolen his kitten, ran after the buggy at full speed, shouting as he passed Lord Auckland's tents, "Dohai, dohai, sahib! dohai, Lord sahib!" "Mercy, mercy, sir! mercy, Governor-General!" The faster the horse rushed on, the faster followed the shouting Arab, until, on arriving at my own tents, the former stopped of his own accord, and the breathless Arab came up. He asked ten rupees for his kitten, but at length with well-feigned reluctance, accepted five, declaring it was worth twenty, "Who was ever before the happy possessor of a tortoise-shell Persian cat?" The man departed. Alas! for the wickedness of the world! Alas! for the Pilgrim! She has bought a cocky-olli-bird!

The cocky-olli-bird, although unknown to naturalists by that name, was formerly sold at Harrow by an old man to the boys, who were charmed with the brilliancy of its plumage,—purple, green, crimson, yellow, all the colours of the rainbow united in this beautiful bird; nor could the wily old fellow import them fast enough to supply the demand, until it was discovered they were painted sparrows!

The bright burnt sienna colour of the kitten is not tortoise-shell: she has been dyed with henna! her original colour was white, with black spots; however, she looks so pretty, she must be fresh dyed when her hair falls off; the henna is permanent for many months. The poor kitten has a violent cold, perhaps the effect of the operation of dyeing her; no doubt,

after having applied the pounded menhdi, they wrapped her up in fresh castor-oil leaves, and bound her up in a handkerchief, after the fashion in which a native dyes his beard. Women often take cold from putting kenna on their feet.

We have now "said our say." Mrs. Parks's two volumes are a perfect panorama of India, through all the extent of the Bengal presidency. Its scenery, its temples, thrones and monuments, its productions, animal and vegetable, its outward life and habits, its celebrities, foreign or domestic, are pourtrayed with the hand of a master, and seem to stand out from the page before us. Everywhere we find the traces of a quick, active, observant mind, and of a wonderful variety of accomplishments. Yet we leave these brilliant and amusing volumes with a painful impression. Passing over those few, but fatal, pages, which defile and pollute the work, we have searched in vain through the journal of this accomplished and gifted lady for any indication, that one thought or one wish for the welfare or advancement of the Hindus ever entered her mind. It would seem as if she had no higher aim, and had reaped no better fruit, during twenty-four years in India, than the gratification of a restless curiosity, and the pleasure of describing what she had seen, in the spirit of the clever exhibitor of a rarec-show.

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